

The Congregational Quarterly

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Rev. JEFFREY BROWN, Congregational Minister, Summer Hill, N.S.W.

DO YOU KNOW ?

That when Easter comes we shall have exactly one month before our great Forward Movement Thanksgiving Meeting in the Albert Hall. At Eastertime we cannot think of failure—the whole Church of Christ is filled with the assurance of Victory. Will you not celebrate Easter this year by sending an extra gift to the Forward Movement Fund, in order that there may be no doubt about the note of Victory at the Albert Hall Meeting.

THIS IS AN
S. O. S.

The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL.

It is our privilege and pleasure to announce in this issue the creation of a Trust Fund, the income of which is to be devoted to the stimulus of life and thought and to the extension of God's Kingdom. This Trust, which has already begun to operate, has been established by a Congregationalist who throughout his long life has rendered, in Parliament and business life as well as in the life of the churches, conspicuous and unstinted public service. Mr. Halley Stewart, J.P., who has already been a contributor to our pages, is an outstanding example of a type that it should be Congregationalism's peculiar genius to produce—the type that has the power to retain tolerance of mind and breadth of vision with increasing years. Always a fighter for freedom he does not fall into the common error of supposing that the victories he has helped to win have secured all that needs to be gained for mankind's complete liberty ; at the age of eighty-seven he recognises that the present and every succeeding generation must fight their own battles, win new heights, and conquer new territories for the fuller development of human life.

The Trust Mr. Halley Stewart has now set up breathes this spirit from the beginning to the end. Breadth of view and the open mind mark every part of it ; the certainty of development and evolution is recognised throughout, and the terms of the Trust are such that no restraining " dead hand " will ever be able to limit its administration—on the contrary, the widest possible powers are given to the Trustees to meet and to anticipate the changing situations in the spirit in which the Trust is conceived. Indeed, the Trust's purpose may be said to be to help men of vision who by intensive and extensive thought and service are seeking to discover the best ways of applying the mind of Christ to modern life and its problems so as to extend the Kingdom of God.

It is no secret that Mr. Halley Stewart is out of sympathy with some of the more recent developments in Congregationalism, believing that they trespass on the rights of individual churches and County Unions, and tend to lower their spiritual vitality by doing for the churches of future generations what they should do for themselves—

and for others. Nevertheless, his choice of Trustees shows that it is to Congregationalists and to those of a younger generation than his own, that he looks for those most likely to appreciate and carry out his aims. With him and his three sons (Mr. R. Halley Stewart, Mr. Percy M. Stewart, and Dr. Bernard Halley Stewart) are associated Mr. Harold Shephard, Dr. S. M. Berry (Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales) Dr. Hywel Hughes (Principal of the Scottish Congregational College) and Dr. Albert Peel (Editor of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY) who are the first Trustees. These are all in sympathy with the objects of the Trust, as—by the terms of the Trust—all future Trustees must be.

The present income of the Trust is £4,000 *per annum*, and it is temporarily charged with :

- (a) Certain personal life annuities, amounting to £350 *per annum*.
- (b) During the donor's life and five years afterwards, annual gifts as follows: the Herts Congregational Union, £25; the Liberation Society, £25; the Colonial Missionary Society, £40; the London Missionary Society, £40.
- (c) £1,000 *per annum* to the Herts Congregational Union—on condition that in each such year that Union raises £3,000—the two to form a permanent capital fund of £20,000, the income therefrom to be used for the erection of places of worship in the County of Herts. If the Union raises less than £3,000 a year the Trust's contribution will also be lessened and be reduced to one-third of the sum raised in the county. Immediately, therefore, there is at the disposal of the Trustees a sum of £2,520 *per annum*.

After the cesser of these life interests and annuities, the entire income becomes available for the permanent objects specified in the Trust. These are of such range and significance that we print the pertinent clauses *in extenso*. They show, we venture to assert, that not since the days of Robert Hibbert has there been a Trust established capable of such wide service to the cause of truth and religion, and it is perhaps not too much to say that when the Trust is in full operation its scope and magnitude may even exceed that of the Hibbert Trust. Mr. Halley Stewart has set an example that other Congregationalists would do well to emulate.

* * *

THE main clauses of the Trust read as follows:

(B) The objects of the Trust shall be in general :

- (1) To advance religion ;
- (2) To advance education ;
- (3) To relieve poverty ;
- (4) To promote other Charitable purposes beneficial to the community and in particular (but so that notwithstanding anything hereinafter

contained the objects and purposes hereinafter set forth shall in every case be so construed and take effect as to be limited by and fall within one or more of the four classes of Charitable objects hereinbefore mentioned) the following objects, namely :

- (a) To assist in the discovery of the best means by which " the mind of Christ " may be applied to extending the Kingdom of God by the prevention and removal of human misery ;
- (b) To assist in the study of our Lord's life and teaching in their explicit and implicit application to the social relationship of man ;
- (c) To express the mind of Christ in the realisation of the Kingdom of God upon earth and in a national and a world-wide brotherhood, for example :—
 - 1. By furthering for every individual such favourable opportunities of education, service and leisure as shall enable him or her most perfectly to develop the body, mind and spirit ;
 - 2. In all social life, whether domestic, industrial, or national, by securing a just environment, and
 - 3. In international relationships, by fostering good-will between all races, tribes, peoples and nations so as to secure the fulfilment of the hope of " peace on earth."
- (d)
 - 1. To provide fees for a Lecture or Lectures annually and annual prizes to be awarded by Adjudicators appointed by the Trustees for the best essays or other written compositions directed towards the attainment of the objects of the Trust ;
 - 2. To provide special prizes to be awarded by such Adjudicator to students of Congregational and Baptist Theological Colleges for the best essays directed towards the attainment of the same objects ;
 - 3. To provide an honorarium for the Adjudicators appointed to examine and adjudicate upon the essays and other written compositions submitted ;
 - 4. To pay the expenses of publishing and distributing the lectures, essays, and other written compositions above-mentioned, whether distributed gratuitously or at a small charge, the distribution being in either case at the discretion of the Charitable Trustees preferentially to the Students of Congregational and Baptist Theological Colleges.
- (e) To provide, maintain, and assist lectures and research work in social, economic, psychological, medical, surgical, or educational subjects exclusively connected with the objects of the Trust ;
- (f) To make grants to Libraries established for the purpose of and engaged in the advancement of religion or education ;

- (g) To assist publications exclusively connected with the objects of the Trust (not being newspapers or exclusively denominational) ;
 - (h) To make grants to and co-operate with Societies, Organisations and persons engaged in the furtherance of Charitable objects similar to the objects of the Trust, such grants being made exclusively for the furtherance of such objects ;
 - (i) To use any such other methods whether of a like nature or not as shall be lawful and within the objects of the Trust and as shall seem to the Charitable Trustees reasonable and appropriate for the furtherance of the objects of the Trust ;
 - (j) To pay the expenses of administering the Trust and any out-of-pocket expenses of the Charitable Trustees incurred in the administration of the Trust.
- (D) The Charitable Trustees shall have the full discretion to apply the income of the Trust for such Charitable purposes as shall be lawful and shall be within the objects of the Trust but not for dogmatic theological or ecclesiastical purposes other than the cult of the Science of God as manifest in man in the Son of Man in the person and teaching of Our Lord, "The Word of God," Who "liveth and abideth for ever."

* * *

IN the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY for April, 1923, in referring to the visit of Nonconformist ministers to the King, we suggested that the "right of access" to the throne that we possess might well be used occasionally for ends other than ceremonial, and "more in accord with the moral and spiritual purposes for which we stand." We said then :

"It would be a good thing if we could read in the papers that Presbyterian, Baptist and Congregational deputies had sought audience with the King in order that they might acquaint him with their serious concern with the housing of the people or the extent of unemployment."

Some of those connected with the historic bodies which have the "right of access" were not slow to assure us that care must be taken to approach the throne on matters of courtesy and ceremony only, not trespassing on those affairs where the King acts by the advice of his Ministers. We demur altogether to this limitation of our rights; the churches are concerned not primarily with courtesy and ceremony, but with the care and cure of souls, and this concern they should make plain to the King as to all the people. We are glad to note that the Church of England has taken the action that our representatives were too timorous to take, and glad too that the King, in his reply to Convocation, spoke very emphatic words about the shortage of houses and its effect on the health and morals of the people. The

"Nonconformist conscience" must not be less sensitive to social evils than that of the Established Church, and it must not cry aloud only when Nonconformist rights and privileges are in danger. It is the business of all the churches at the present moment to bring the strongest possible influence to bear on Parliament and municipalities to secure far more effective measures than have yet been taken to tackle the housing problem. Preachers might begin by proclaiming that it should be not merely a Christian duty, but a holy joy, to pay an extra 4d. or 6d. rate to be entirely devoted to the provision of houses.

* * *

WE are glad that the Council of the Congregational Union of England and Wales is giving itself to a discussion of the Protocol. The fact that all the Colonies seem thoroughly perplexed about their attitude to the Protocol, together with the obvious reluctance of leading statesmen in this country to commit themselves, suggests the importance of the proposals. Some periodicals—and especially the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Round Table*—have printed careful and judicious investigations of the situation, and summaries of the provisions like that in Sir John Williams's *The Geneva Protocol* (Allen and Unwin, rs.) are very serviceable, but there is much ignorance on all sides and clear and decided opinions scarcely anywhere.

Can the churches give a lead? It is gratifying to note that the World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches—an organisation which is capable of almost unlimited service in the cause of peace and good-will—has spoken with no uncertain voice, and in favour of the Protocol. We say gratifying because it is to international Christian organisations that we have a right to look for guidance on international problems. If the Protocol be "the only practical plan at present for obtaining disarmament and substituting arbitration for war as a method of settling international disputes," then the duty of Christians is clear. It may mean that some measure of national sovereignty will have to be relinquished. That must take place sometime, even as individual rights and liberties have had to be relinquished for the general good. Is this the time? We trust that there will be a free and frank discussion at Buxton, and that it will throw light on a difficult problem.

* * *

THERE are already signs that the Government is going to have trouble with its unwieldy majority. Its members gave a bad impression by rushing off to the choice spots of the world as soon as they received office, instead of setting to work to learn their jobs: probably more Socialists were made in a week by pictures of Cabinet ministers sporting in the sunshine than by the Socialist Sunday Schools in a decade. We rejoice that Mr. Asquith's wise counsel is not to be lost to the nation, and congratulate him—and the House of Lords—on his Earldom. It has to be recognised, however, that his absence from the House of

Commons still further weakens the Liberal Party. The Labour Party seems to be no happier a family than the other two. Probably nothing but a period of stiff, reactionary legislation—which we shall undoubtedly get if the Die-hards obtain control of the Government—will drive together those who believe in progress, and secure a measure of discipline in Liberal and Labour ranks.

* * *

FOR a long time the Church of England has been anxious about its day schools, which have been diminishing in number and in the number of children in attendance, and which, in many cases, call for the expenditure of large sums to make them meet educational requirements. This anxiety is now—when a Conservative Government is in office with a large majority in the House of Commons—made audible to the world, and it finds expression in a demand for an elementary school system which is defined (or obscured) by the phrase “unity of administration and variety of type,” and by the proposals of a Commission which are to be considered by the National Assembly in July. If this means our old friend “the right of entry” the teachers can be trusted to deal with it satisfactorily, no matter in how attractive a garb it may be attired.

In any case, however, it may be well to warn the leaders of the Church of England that they are playing with fire. The fact that Free Churchmen are not so voluble as their fathers were about Disestablishment, the fact that they are not always talking about the injustices under which Nonconformists still labour in the schools, does not mean that there has been a change in our convictions. If the Church of England wishes to discuss re-union with Free Churchmen in friendly fashion, if it desires to ease the way to re-union by the increase of such courtesies as the invitation to Dr. J. D. Jones to preach in Canterbury Cathedral—a gesture which Congregationalists especially warmly welcomed—care must be taken that attacks are not made on rights Free Churchmen hold dear. The position is not yet irrevocable, and we do not wish to re-open ancient controversies, but it is well that someone should utter a word of warning.

* * *

THE Student Christian Movement has just published *The World Task of the Christian Church* (2s. 6d.), containing the addresses delivered at the Manchester Conference, and also the three lectures by Bishop Temple (*Christ's Revelation of God*, 1s. 6d.), and the three by Dr. Garvie (*The God Man Craves*, 1s.—a good title, and lectures to match).

Those who read these pages regularly will not suspect us of lack of sympathy with the Student Movement, for on many occasions we have expressed appreciation of its work. It ought not to be overlooked, however, that there is another point of view, and we are glad that one of the speakers at the Conference had the courage to state part of it. Dr. Garfield H. Williams said :

"I hear young men and women of to-day decrying the Victorian age. When I think of the eminent Victorian missionaries, I feel that if you young men and women do about a tenth as well as they did you will not do badly. Sometimes I feel that the modern youth is really the most conceited thing that was ever produced. He seems to talk as though his work was to start solving all problems *de novo*. He seems to think of Africa and the East as presenting a sort of academic problem for discussion. He talks airily of race problems and political problems and economic problems and of the solutions of these. If you really knew and had felt something of the superb sacrifice and faith of the missionaries of the Victorian age in Africa, you would not need me or anyone else to tell you that there was a new Africa to deal with to-day, produced by them. Such heroism and faith as was shown by them could not have happened without producing a new Africa. You ought to have been looking for that, ready to enter into the heritage that your fathers had given you. But many of you have forgotten the achievements of your fathers, and many of you have not taken the trouble to read of them, and sometimes you speak of them as though they were not. Their graves are far enough away not to remind you of them as you talk of problems concerning which they did not talk, but the solution of which they discovered in the life of selfless service that they lived and in the death for Christ's sake that they were willing to die. This is harsh talk, but in Africa we are face to face with harsh things and great needs."

There is much on the lines of this criticism that is often heard privately, but it is seldom publicly expressed—Church dignitaries do not wish to "get across" the student world. It ought to be said, however, that there is an undoubted tendency for students to forsake a strong and vital attachment to a Church—and to a denomination—for a "Student Movement" religion which is based on no personal experience or service, and consists of a pleasant and shallow sympathy, good-will to the world, and to all the opinions in it. It would not be difficult to find Universities where the Movement does nothing to encourage the Church or denominational allegiance of its members, and Movement committees have been known to meet on Sundays at the hour for Divine worship in the City churches. We are convinced that the result of all this is heavy loss to the Movement, to the churches, and to individuals.

Further, there is no doubt that Dr. Williams has much evidence for his strictures. Many students seem to have the idea that the world's problems can be solved by a study circle or a group discussion. Often one hears young persons (and it has to be admitted the "Copec" movement may easily slip into this danger) dogmatising about the housing problem when they have never seen a slum or been inside a house built for one family but now accommodating four. It used to be the fashion to decry early Radical and Labour speakers because

they never saw things from a point of view other than that of a two-roomed cottage. It is a greater offence against true learning, sound judgment, and real religion, to see them only from within the covers of books or the walls of common-rooms. We would not have young people, including ourselves, to "cease from mental strife," but that strife must be backed by personal experience and personal sacrifice before it "builds Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land." And they will not necessarily be worse servants of Christ because they are devoted Anglicans or Presbyterians.

* * *

WHEN our next number is issued the denominational Forward Movement will have passed its allotted span—by the second week in May we must have £500,000 promised. Half that amount has already been paid, and £420,000 of it promised. Can we reach the goal? Congregationalists may be encouraged to put forth the last ounce of their energy and make renewed sacrifice when they know that the addition of experts to the financial and publication sides of our work has united with the strenuous toil of Mr. J. C. Meggitt and with the flow of good-will to Dr. Berry to make the future of organised Congregationalism look exceedingly bright. It would not be right to disclose the statements to be made to the Council and to the Assembly at a later date, but it is safe to say that they are such as to make us rejoice and be exceeding glad and a good augury for the success of the Forward Movement. Let us get this financial effort out of the way so that our churches can give themselves unhampered to the tremendous tasks that the times thrust upon them.

* * *

It is perhaps not too late to draw the attention of our readers to the "Special Alcohol Number" of *The Practitioner*, issued last October (7s. 6d.). Written especially for the medical profession, this number gathers together valuable data and opinions which ought to be carefully studied by all social workers. Often we are inclined to feel that some of the "Temperance" journals do more harm by their intemperance than they do good by their propaganda: the cause of sobriety is not helped by abusive and vulgar language.

There is available on all sides at the present time a mass of evidence to convince reasonable men, in Sir Arthur Newsholme's words, that "it is only by increased compulsion in the form of restrictions on the sale of alcoholic drinks, backed by the hygienic persuasion of physicians and others, that we can secure reduction more rapidly than at present of the alcoholism which is still a chief cause of crime, disease, destitution and neglect and impoverishment of families in our midst."

This issue of *The Practitioner* contains articles by many who cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called "Temperance fanatics;"

notes like the following from Sir Leonard Rogers's article on "Alcohol in the Tropics" are of great value :

"Not very long ago it was common to hear medical men expressing the opinion that alcohol is both beneficial and even necessary for the maintenance of health in the tropics, although I doubt if this opinion is widely held at the present day. When I arrived in India about three decades back, at a gathering of nearly twenty military medical officers I was informed, perhaps only half seriously, that I should be dead in a year if I did not take any alcohol, and immediately decided to hazard the experiment, with the result that I completed twenty-seven years' strenuous service for pension, only one year being spent in the hills, without being absent for a complete year on leave at one time, and without ever taking any alcohol, with, I believe, benefit to my health, and certainly to my pocket ; and very similar experiences of others have convinced me that it is quite unnecessary to take the drug in the tropics, although I occasionally took a little wine before going to India, and have never belonged to any temperance body."

* * *

A PARTICULARLY savage attack of influenza which has put a stop to editorial activity in the crucial week of the quarter, has caused some changes in our plans. The article based on Dr. Allon's unpublished letters is delayed until next time, when, our readers will rejoice to learn, Mr. Augustine Birrell will again contribute to our pages, and Dr. Powicke will give us the results of some of his Baxter researches in an illuminating study of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*. This quarter an extra sheet of sixteen pages is added to our Review Section.

* * *

THOSE of our readers who appreciated the Chinese editor's letter declining a manuscript which we quoted in our last issue, may like this sentence, which comes from a recent article on sleep in *The Lancet*. It may serve as a warning to preachers and professors who have been badly bitten by modern psychology—they have been known to perpetuate such sentences in pulpit and in class-room.

"Seeing that every sensation and every mental image or engram leads to a reflex activation which may be apparent or not according to the influence of positive or negative inhibition ; to every sensation and image or perception there must, in consequence of this reflex motor action, result a corresponding kinesthetic or postural excitation of afferent stimuli flowing along proprioceptive neuronic systems from muscle spindles, tendons, bones and joints, which combined with associated labyrinthine sensations, form a sensory continuum which is intimately integrated with the exteroceptor sensory continuum on the one hand and the motor continuum on the other."

THE OLD TESTAMENT APPROACH TO LIFE AFTER DEATH.¹

WHY does a modern man believe in life after death—supposing that he does believe in it? The supposition is necessary, for anything that can be called “belief” is much less common than we conventionally assume. The prevalent attitude is probably that of indifference, occasionally quickened to curiosity by some flamboyant assertion on one side or other, but rarely to longing. I doubt whether the “natural man” of to-day cares much about immortality at all, especially since Biblical and ecclesiastical authority has become increasingly remote from his life. But even the “spiritual man” of our time does not necessarily believe in personal immortality. Dr. Strachan, in his recent volume, *The Soul of Modern Poetry*, asserts that “Our best modern poetry is filled with a sense of homesickness which continually breaks through the bonds that doom men to acquiescence in things as they are,” but declares that the prevalent temper is that of the “heroic abnegation” of personal immortality as a selfish desire which the nobler spirit outgrows. “There is,” he says, “no parallel in modern poetry to Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*, or Browning’s *Rabbi ben Ezra* and *Prospice*.” Maurice Hewlett in an essay on “Immortality in the Poets,” thinks that modern poetry can offer us nothing better than “a sighed question.”

Even if a man does believe in a life after death, his belief may be no more than an opinion, derived without thought or enquiry from the current social and ecclesiastical tradition. He no longer thinks that when he dreams of the presence of the dead he is seeing a surviving spirit, but he does frequently think that so many decent pieties and touching sentiments gather round the idea of survival that it is as well to keep it up. After all, he says, there must be something in that which so many profess, even if we must take off a liberal discount for the vested interests of clergymen and undertakers! Again, belief may be simpler and less sophisticated than this, and yet be no more than belief on merely external authority, whether it be that of Bible or Church. Such a belief is of limited value in the shadow of grievous personal loss; it can stifle questions, but it cannot honestly meet them. The appeal of Spiritualism in recent years has often succeeded because it did seem to deal with realities, and to offer some sort of proof of its assertions, however crude the realities and shadowy the proofs. Frederic Myers, the most distinguished and competent thinker of this school, prophesied twenty years ago, that “in consequence of the

¹ The “Drew” Lecture on Immortality, delivered Oct. 28th, 1924.

new evidence, all reasonable men, a century hence, will believe the Resurrection of Christ, whereas, in default of the new evidence, no reasonable men, a century hence, would have believed it."¹ But to prove that the Resurrection of Christ was but one of many such credible phenomena would not carry us far, if it carried us any way at all, towards the genuine Christian faith in immortality. That faith is concerned, not with duration, but with quality, not with form, but with content. There may even be a blank denial of the form, whilst the emphasis falls on the real content, as I believe it does in words of George Eliot's, which Myers has preserved for us :

I remember how, at Cambridge, I walked with her once in the Fellows' Garden of Trinity, on an evening of rainy May ; and she, stirred somewhat beyond her wont, and taking as her text the three words which have been used so often as the inspiring trumpet-call of men—the words, God, Immortality, Duty—pronounced with terrible earnestness how inconceivable was the first, how unbelievable the second, and yet how peremptory and absolute the third. Never, perhaps, have sterner accents affirmed the sovereignty of impersonal and unrecompensing law.

In those words we have at least the loyal recognition of those moral values which are an essential element in the Christian doctrine of immortality. We may hold—I personally hold—that the logic of such recognition of morality is faith in immortality, and that the speaker faltered unnecessarily short of the goal. But it is better to get some way along the right road than to think you have arrived whilst on the wrong one.

There are four key-words of a vital Christian faith in immortality—*continuity, spirituality, completion* and *individuality*. By continuity, the Christian means the maintenance of a life beyond this, yet consciously related to this. By spirituality, he means the experience of moral and spiritual values which cannot be destroyed by physical death. By completion, he means the satisfaction of life's demand for ampler fulfilment. By individuality, he characterises the values of his experience as involving individual existence to such a degree that he cannot conceive their maintenance without that of the individual spirit. Now the paradox of our particular subject, which is the approach of the Old Testament to life after death, is that whilst the Old Testament has no doctrine of immortality it has laid the foundation for the Christian doctrine of immortality in respect of each of these four principles. To prove this is the argument of the present lecture.

I. In the first place, consider the contribution of the Old Testament to the continuity with this present life of life after death. Here we have to make a careful distinction between the ghostly existence of the dead in Sheol, and the real life due to a resurrection from the dead. The Sheol-existence is a formal, but not a real continuity. The

¹ *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, II., 288.

Hebrews, like the Greeks, derive their ideas about the dead from primitive animism, and there is much in common between Sheol, the abode of the Hebrew dead, and Hades, that of the Greek. When Odysseus, on his famous visit to the underworld to consult Teiresias has slain the sacrifice, and the dark blood flows forth, he is surrounded by the ghosts of the dead,¹ eager to regain vitality by drinking the blood, all of them in the familiar shapes of earth, "brides and youths unwed, and old men of many and evil days, and tender maidens with grief yet fresh at heart; and many there were, wounded with bronze-shod spears, men slain in fight with their bloody mail about them." All these "strengthless heads of the dead" Odysseus had to keep away from the life-giving blood at the point of the sword. If there is nothing quite as crude as that in the Old Testament pictures of Sheol, it is because of a selective process exercised under the influence of higher religion; in connexion with the Babylonian *Aralu*, which resembles the Hebrew Sheol, we meet with ideas as primitive as those of *The Odyssey*, ideas still partially echoed in the Old Testament. A passage in *Isaiah* 14⁹⁻²⁰ describes a tyrant's downfall and reception by the ghosts or shades in Sheol; his corpse lies unburied on the battlefield instead of being properly interred in a royal sepulchre; his shade is brought down to the recesses of the pit from the heights of his earthly career. Other kings rise from their shadow-thrones in wonder at so great a downfall. *Ezekiel* 32¹⁷⁻³² sings a dirge over Pharaoh's descent into Sheol, where await him the warriors of the past with their weapons of war. Different nations are grouped apart in Sheol, which suggests a sort of classified grave-yard. In *Job* 3¹³⁻¹⁹ the thought is of the undisturbed repose of the underworld, in contrast with the pain and dishonour of this life. Better to be there with kings and counsellors of the earth than here; there the wicked cease their raging and there the weary are at rest.

(There) the captives are at ease together;
They hear not the voice of the taskmaster,
The small and the great are there;
And the servant is free from his master.

In *Job* 10²⁰⁻²² another aspect of Sheol is before the writer, and he is repelled from its gloom, asking for respite:

Before I go whence I shall not return,
Even to the land of darkness and of deep darkness,
A land of thick darkness as darkness (itself)
(A land) of deep darkness without any order,
And where the light is as darkness.

In the 14th chapter (v. 13ff) Job longs to be hidden in Sheol until God's wrath is over, and God shall again call for him in recovered desire for him. This, of course, is a quite exceptional outlook and longing, not

¹ *Odyssey*, XI. 38f (trans. by Butcher and Lang).

belief in any normal return from Sheol. As is explicitly said in *Job* 7⁹, "he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more."

We have a striking reminder of the literalness of the geographical position of Sheol in the story of Dathan and Abiram, when punished for their rebellion against Moses and Aaron :

the ground clave asunder that was under them, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their households . . . so they and all that appertained to them went down alive into Sheol, and the earth closed upon them (*Num.* 16³¹⁻³³).

This "going down alive" into Sheol is expressly declared (16³⁰) to be a new and unprecedented death, as remarkable as the phenomenal translation to heaven of Enoch and Elijah ; not their shades or ghosts, as in the normal instance, but they themselves, body and soul, are swallowed up. So one of the maledictions of the psalms is :

Let death come suddenly upon them,
Let them go down alive into Sheol (*Ps.* 55¹⁵).

You will notice that I have carefully avoided speaking of the dead in Sheol as souls or spirits ; they are never so spoken of in the Old Testament, which calls them "shades" (*rephaim*), as in such passages as these :

The dead shall live not
The shades shall rise not (*Is.* 26¹⁴).

Sheol stirreth up the shades for thee (*Is.* 14⁹).

Passages which speak of bringing back the soul, or rather the "life," from Sheol, mean no more than when we speak of a man as saved from death, not meaning that he has actually died first (*e.g.*, *Ps.* 30³) :

Yahweh, thou hast brought up my life from Sheol,
Thou hast kept me alive, that I should not go down to the pit.

There is only one passage that suggests that the "soul" survives death (*Job* 14²⁰⁻²²) and there the survival is temporary, like that of an image on the retina :

Thou prevailest for ever against him and he passeth ;
Thou changest his countenance and sendest him away.
His sons come to honour and he knoweth it not ;
And they are brought low, but he perceiveth them not.
Only his flesh upon him hath pain,
And his soul upon him mourneth.

This means that the man's ghost has gone to Sheol, but that whilst the body on earth moulders away, the breath-soul hovers for a time about it, conscious of its miserable fate—truly an exception that proves the rule. The fact is that in Hebrew psychology the body is the real man, rather than the soul ; human personality is an animated body,

over against the incarnated soul of the Greeks. The importance of this is seen when we turn to the only two passages in the Old Testament that definitely proclaim a real life after death. In both instances this life takes the form of a resurrection, just because the Hebrew could not conceive a real life after death at all apart from the body.

The earlier of these two passages is found in an Apocalypse of about 300 B.C., which is now included¹ in *Isaiah* (24-27 ; see 26¹⁹) :

Thy dead shall live
 Their corpses shall arise
 They that dwell in the dust,
 Shall awake and give a ringing cry.
 For the dew of lights is thy dew,
 And the earth shall give birth to shades.

This means that in the coming deliverance by Yahweh, He will re-populate the harried land by bringing back to life those of His people who had given up their lives for their religion. This is a partial and special resurrection to renewed life upon this earth, a resurrection of the good alone.

The second resurrection passage, considerably later (165 B.C.) is found in *Daniel* 12² :

And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake,
 some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

Here again, the resurrection is partial and special, but it now includes the very bad (for punishment) as well as the very good (for reward). It will be noticed that both these passages belong to the class of Apocalyptic, and it is in the Apocalyptic of Judaism that this idea developed. The hope of life after death, such as it is, is based solely on faith in the divine power and purpose, and not on any quality of human nature. The hope takes the form of a resurrection of the body, because Hebrew psychology made the body the essential element in personality. Even Paul, a Hebrew of Hebrews, could not conceive of life after death without a body, though he looks for redemption from *this* body of flesh, which is occupied by Sin, and for the completion of the Christian salvation through the divine provision of a new and "spiritual" body, adequate to the needs of the spirit of man.

These then, are the small beginnings of that resurrection hope which has come to take so great a place in Jewish and Christian thought. All that we have so far found is on the one hand a formal continuity of a ghostly kind in Sheol, without any real content, on the other the beginnings of a faith in real continuity through a special resurrection for special people, and this through the power of God alone and not through any intrinsic quality of the "soul."

II. The most vital contribution of the Old Testament to immortality is along the line I have called "spirituality," and it is the more

¹ See G. B. Gray in the *International Critical Commentary*.

markable and impressive because, as we saw in reference to George Eliot's words, the inner logic and momentum of the faith does not, within the Old Testament, work itself out to its true issue. This contribution is through the morality and religion which make the moral content of a Christian faith in immortality. The great glory of the Old Testament is its unique assertion of the supremacy of morality in the realm of religion, whether as man's duty or in God's nature and activity. These are the values it asserts as they are nowhere else asserted prior to Christianity. Yet the Old Testament never reaches the point of explicitly declaring that these values survive in human consciousness after physical death, however close it may seem to come to that declaration. We may see this notably in *Job*, which is not earlier than about 400 B.C., and probably somewhat later. The theme of the book, the problem of the suffering of the innocent, would once have found its solution, had the author felt sure that there was life after death to redress or remove the wrongs of this life. In 7⁹ *Job* explicitly declares that "he that goeth down to Sheol cometh up no more," and in 14¹² that there is no awaking from the sleep of death. But in the latter context he goes on to express the passionate desire that it were not so, and that God might hide him away in some corner of Sheol till His present mysterious wrath had passed, and He remembered *Job* to call him back from death, when the call would be joyfully answered by his waiting and patient servant. But it is no more than a desire, and moreover a desire doomed not to be fulfilled (14^{19f}). Once again (19^{25f}) *Job* rises to words which have become surcharged by constant Christian use and association with the full content of a Christian faith—"I know that my Redeemer liveth." But we must distinguish between this acquired meaning and the original significance of the words when they are properly translated. The passage is difficult, but its true rendering would be something like this:

I know that my vindicator liveth,
And that hereafter he will stand up upon the dust,
And after this my skin has been destroyed,
And away from my flesh, I shall behold God.

What *Job* is here triumphantly claiming and expecting is an exceptional expedient to meet a peculiar problem—not immortal life, but a temporary survival of consciousness, though without a body, when God vindicates his memory from the charges of grievous sin brought against him by his friends. So far from expressing faith in life after death, the passage would never have been written, nor indeed the book itself, had *Job* cherished a faith in immortal life.

But it will be said, "What about the Psalms? Do not some of them declare this faith?" Here again we must beware of reading our meaning into the words, natural for us, but unproved for the writers. *Psalms* 16^{10f}, (McFadyen) we read:

For Thou wilt not give me up to the grave
 Nor let any who loves Thee behold the pit.
 Thou wilt show me the path that leadeth to life,
 To that fulness of joy which is in Thy presence,
 And the pleasures dispensed by Thy hand evermore.

It is easy for a Christian to use such words ; but in the Psalms they mean simply the deliverance from death, and the enjoyment of God's favour in this life. "Pleasures for evermore" are not to Hebrew ears immortal pleasures, any more than the greeting, "O king live for ever" implies immortality. So *Ps. 17¹⁵* (Cheyne) :

As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness ;
 May I be satisfied, when I awake, with thine image !

Here the figure of "waking" suggests at once to us the sleep of death, as it does also in *49¹⁴*, where it is said that the upright shall trample on unrighteous men "in the morning." But the idea of the morning bringing deliverance in this life after a period of sorrow is natural to the Psalms, as in *30⁵* :

Weeping may come in to lodge at eventide,
 But in the morning, a ringing cry of joy !

There is in such passages the strongest conviction that God will deliver from imminent death ; but there is no proof that the deliverance will take the form of immortal life beyond death, instead of a providential escape from the present peril of death, which (as it seems to me) is all that such passages can fairly mean. But in the great words at the end of *Ps. 73* (Cheyne) we do apparently get further than this :

And yet I am continually with thee ;
 thou hast taken hold of my right hand.
 According to thy purpose wilt thou lead me,
 and afterward receive me with glory.
 Whom have I (to care for) in heaven ?
 and possessing thee I have pleasure in nothing upon earth.
 Though my flesh and my heart should have wasted away,
 God would for ever be the rock of my heart and my portion.

That can be called, without any exaggeration, the highest mountain peak of Old Testament religion, where we breathe the purest air of fellowship with God. Let death do its worst, I cannot lose God. To us it seems wonderful that the man who could say that did not rend the veil of death, and show us immortal life with God beyond it. But the double fact remains—first, that he did not, and second, that he has brought us as far as it seems anybody can go towards the faith without actually reaching it. For this is the very heart of Christian immortality: this is life eternal, to know God with such life-knowledge, such intimate experience of a fellowship even death cannot break. One step more and we cry, "O death, where is thy sting ; O grave, where is thy victory ?"

III. The third contribution of the Old Testament is made through the intensity of its demand for the *completion* of life by some ampler fulfilment of its desires and visions. This demand was not made along the lines that would be most natural to a man of the modern world, who is relatively much more subjective and introspective than the Hebrew. We tend to think of the failure of this earthly life to yield to us the secret of inner peace, the frequent lack of adjustment between our capacities and our achievements, the sense of limitation to one beaten path when there are so many others we should like to tread, the consciousness of so many uncrossed thresholds, and the unrealised ambitions of youth. Something of this is expressed in Browning's familiar, "All I could never be"—so different from the morbid complaint of Amiel, "The unachieved is nothing." Something also of this is expressed in the thought of Phillips Brooks as he looks out on the many-coloured life of a continental square, and wants to be, not only himself, but these others also, "these College students, these soldiers in their barracks, these children playing round the old fountain, these actors on their stage, these merchants in their shops, these peasant women at their toil, these fine ladies with their beauty; I want somehow, somewhere to *be* them all! and the simplicity, the singleness of my own life, with its appointed place and limits, comes over me oppressively." He goes on to find his answer in the sense of the Fatherhood of God, by which all these varieties of life, "every other form in which men live or have lived or will live forever," are brought into the common possession of the human family. The Hebrews knew the Fatherhood of God, but they were far from realising its meaning in the Christian sense, whether in extent or individual application. As we have seen, the normal background of the Old Testament religion is the gloom of Sheol, which endures long after the prophetic interpretation of Yahweh has transformed other realms of primitive thought. One result of this contrast is the strong emphasis set by the Old Testament on the value of present life. Life and good are the familiar antithesis to death and evil. Of Wisdom it is said:

Length of days is in her right hand :
In her left hand are riches and honour (*Prov. 3¹⁶*).

Add to these goods of life the children who continue the man's life after his death through the corporate personality which unites him with them, and we have the best that could come to a Hebrew, the most convincing signs of the approval of God. Life is so positive and intense in its consciousness because death is nothing but a negation. We might almost say that Sheol was so long untouched by the religion of Yahweh because there was nothing worth His invasion of that territory. Theoretically, he could penetrate there, as a late psalmist says (139⁸): "If I make my bed in Sheol, behold, thou art there." Actually, however, it lies outside of Yahweh's interest and even His

control. Thus is explained the gloomy outlook of the *Ecclesiastes*, the latest of Old Testament books—"a living dog is better than a dead lion, for the living know that they shall die, but the dead know not anything" (9th 5).

But not even a Hebrew, rejoicing in the good things of present life, and without our fuller self-consciousness, could ultimately shut his eyes to life's incompleteness. As long as Yahweh was conceived as the God of the nation, it was possible to ignore the inequalities of individual life. But when the prophets taught that God is righteous and loving, and that, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel bring out, He is concerned with individual lives, there emerged a grave challenge to religious faith, the great and perennial problem of the Old Testament thinker. *Why* do the righteous suffer, and the wicked prosper, as they obviously sometimes do? You will observe that the form of the statement of life's incompleteness is prescribed by Israel's characteristic development of an ethical faith. The problem was felt the more acutely, because there was no faith in a life beyond death to remove its worst pressure. If God's nature was ever to be vindicated, and man to receive justice, it must be here and now. We have incidentally seen that demand in the instance of Job, and how he rejected one of the great answers given by subsequent Judaism and by Christianity. There is no challenge to faith in the Old Testament comparable with that of this problem, as we can see from the repeated return to it, after its first emergence. Because the river of life was dammed up within this world, its pressure was the greater, and the demand became the more insistent. Without reaching what seems to us the most obvious of answers, the confidence in a life beyond death, the thinkers of Israel explored one avenue after another, and in doing so, created some of the chief glories of the Old Testament literature, and attained to some of its noblest visions of truth. To be made conscious of real and apparently insoluble problems is the surest sign that a student is really getting to the heart of his subject. Smooth sailing reaches no haven of truth. There are five attempted answers to the question about innocent suffering and guilty prosperity, and all of them can tell us something, if only to make us conscious of the gravity of the problem.

(1) There is the predominant answer of many of the Psalms—be patient, wait, consider the end of the wicked and the good, how God at last comes into action to adjust their ill-adjusted lots. By this is meant, not waiting for another world, but waiting for what may happen here, on this earth, nay, not *may* happen, but will surely happen, or rather will not *happen*, but will be wrought by the direct will of God. This answer, it will be seen, is a deduction of faith, strong enough to ignore any induction from facts.

(2) The second answer is that which gives us the doctrine of resurrection to a further life upon this earth—the answers of the

apocalyptists in the *Isaiah*-apocalypse and in *Daniel*. This indeed gives us the thought of a life after death for some, specially good men, or specially good and specially bad, but it is not a doctrine of immortality in any Christian sense; it is an *ad hoc* miracle.

(3) The third answer is that of the pessimist *Ecclesiastes*—life is a dark mystery, which we were not intended to understand, and we must just make the best of it, ignorant and helpless as we are.

(4) The fourth answer is that of the prologue to *Job*. Life is a bright mystery, the mystery of a worthy purpose on God's part, though it is hidden from man. The sufferings of the innocent are worth while if they prove that there can be such a thing as disinterested religion, and triumph over the cynic's taunt, "Doth Job fear God for nought?"

(5) The fifth and greatest answer is that of the Suffering Servant in *Isaiah* 53. The Servant represents the nation which has received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins. Yet this undeserved overplus of suffering is not wasted, for it moves the nations of the earth to wonder and shame, and finally becomes a sacrificial offering through which they may approach Israel's God.

Does it seem that the contribution of these ideas to our subject is at most very indirect, however important they are in other realms of thought? My answer is that by showing the intensity of the demand for some completion of life as it is, they show the reality of the need for faith in immortality. Until these were tried and their partial truth realised, the great answer could not be given; or rather, the great answer gathers up their truth. For the content of the life beyond death is what matters, and everything that enriches life here, simple trust, heroic martyrdom, witness-bearing to truth, sacrifice for others, even pessimistic Stoicism—contributes to the completion of that life beyond death. Every evidence of incompleteness, in a world assumed to be rational and beneficent, points onward to some future completion. As Rabindranath Tagore so finely puts it: "If the world remained ill and became final, then it would be a prison-house of orphaned facts, which had lost their freedom of truth, the truth that is infinite." It is the consciousness of these "orphaned facts" that gives the full weight of meaning to such a phrase as that of our Lord: "I will not leave you orphans."

IV. The fourth contribution to be noticed is the way in which the *individuality* of life comes to be realised in the Old Testament. When we speak of immortality, we mean personal immortality, and when we say "personal" we mean amongst other things, "individual."

Whatever appeal may be made to the Eastern world by the prospect of absorption into some larger being, our Western outlook is too conscious of the values of individuality to care for an immortality that does not in some real sense guarantee our continuance in our own unabsorbed and unmerged individual consciousness. Nor does it

¹ *Personality*, p. 61.

seem credible to most men who have faith in God that He should be responsible for a world that has brought the individual consciousness to birth through such travail-pangs, only at last to fling aside His great achievement. If God cares for individual men here, He must, it would seem, go on caring for them, that is preserving them as individuals in the life beyond death. Indeed, we cannot conceive continuity itself without this continuance of individualisation. It is true that the very conception of the Christian heaven is bound up with that of the surrender of the soul to God, and the realisation of its life in social relationship. It is a faithful representation of Christian life and thought when a distinguished Christian teacher (Mandell Creighton¹) reminds us that :

Life is a sum of relationships. There is no independent or self-centred existence. I am what I am in relation to others ; and I know myself by seeing myself reflected in my influence on others, my power of touching their lives and weaving their life and mine into some connected and satisfactory scheme which contains them all and points to further developments. . . . Relationships, founded on a sense of lasting affection, are the sole realities of life.

It is in the subtle blending of the individual and the social, the realisation of a higher individuality through fellowship with God and man that we see one of the great characteristics of Christian life, here or hereafter. Now this blending we owe to the Old Testament, first of all, before it is consummated in the New.

It is in Jeremiah that we see the pioneer experience of individual fellowship with God, and at the same time the richest example of such experience. Prior to him the emphasis had fallen so strongly on the sense of corporate personality that there was a quite defective sense of the place and significance of the individual life both in religion, and in law. Achan's family are destroyed with Achan, Saul's descendants are executed for Saul's offence ; in relation to Yahweh, Israel is the primary unit, not the Israelite. That social emphasis came first, and it was a great gain that it did. It gave to the religion of Israel the profound truth that the individual comes unto being in and through a society, and that the society is not a mere congregation of individuals. When Jeremiah was called to be a prophet he brought to his task a deep consciousness of his oneness with his people. So intimate is the bond that his chief spiritual agony is in the commission to declare the destruction of the beloved city. He can do this only through the sense of being the very mouth of God, speaking His words. Yet, still within this religious fellowship, Jeremiah realises and asserts, as no other, his own individual consciousness. There is no more remarkable revelation of the inner life of a man within the Old Testament than we have in Jeremiah's autobiography. He is a man of warm and affectionate nature, driven in upon himself, and so upon God, by the

¹ *Life*, II, 211, 213 (reference due to the Rev. T. H. Darlow).

circumstances of his times and work. He is forced by his own needs to discover the meaning of an individual, instead of a national, fellowship with God. He is compelled to be an individualist, when the whole bent of his nature draws him towards others. But through this discovery of the fellowship of God, he rises to a unique religious experience, which becomes the pattern and inspiration of the highest and noblest piety of subsequent generations. From him we trace the personal religion of the *Psalms*; he is the first begetter of such a passage as that already quoted from *Ps.* 73, which comes so near to faith in a life beyond death. There is no trace of this faith in Jeremiah himself. But such an experience of God as his was bound to work itself out to a larger faith and to claim an ampler arena. In the *Psalms*, and in *Job* (which also shows the influence of Jeremiah), we see the struggle towards this larger faith in an individual immortality. It may be called an accident of history that the full results of this struggle are seen only in the literature that belongs to the period between the Old Testament and the New. In the Apocalyptic literature the centre of gravity is largely transferred to another life beyond death. The surviving personality is now spoken of as a "soul" or a "spirit," though Palestinian Judaism looks for a resurrection in which the body will be resumed. The individual life meets with moral retribution, for Sheol is now ethically differentiated, as it never is in the Old Testament. Broadly speaking, the individual eschatology of the New Testament is *in form* borrowed from the apocalyptic literature of contemporary Judaism, which owes its individualism ultimately to Jeremiah.

Yet we must not misconceive the nature of this individualism. Both in subsequent developments, and in Jeremiah himself, its character is given by the social matrix in which it is created. Jeremiah, as we know from his prophecy of the New Covenant, looks forward to an individual relation of man and God as the hope of the future. But he also looks forward to the constitution of a new society, and sees a future for Israel as well as for Israelites. In the same way, the apocalyptists and the New Testament conceive a new society created through this individualism, whether its realisation is to be on earth or in heaven. We know from the New Testament how integral a part "salvation" is this relationship to the community, and how impossible it is for a selfish and isolated individual to be "saved" in any New Testament sense.

When we consider, therefore, the Old Testament approach to individual survival of death, we can see how free it is from any of that selfishness with which the hope of personal immortality has sometimes been charged. The believer's life beyond death is no more selfish than the believer's life in this world; salvation, here or there, might be defined as right relationship to other persons, God and man. Nor is there ground for the suspicion that the faith in personal immortality

involves too narrow a view of the universe, and concerns itself with trivial details that can have no place in a cosmic perspective. If the divine providence can make room here for all the petty details of our individual lives, which are inseparable from our individuality, there is nothing irrational in supposing that the same loving care for each of us will endure beyond death. It was in a moment of bitterness that Job compared man's life with a driven leaf; in the strength of Christian faith we can say with Newman that: "We seem to live and die as the leaves; but there is One who notes the fragrance of every one of them, and when their hour comes places them between the pages of His great book."

As we look back over the four paths of approach which we have travelled, we shall see one great feature which they all share—which is the clearest proof that they are genuine approaches to the New Testament faith in life beyond death. Along each path we are conscious of being brought nearer and nearer to God, and of being summoned to depend on Him more and more. Sheol gave no real *continuity*, because it was never a place where God was at home. But the limited hope of resurrection to another life on this earth was what it was because of faith in God, not because of any inalienable right of man's nature, any natural immortality of man. The content of *spirituality* which gives to the life beyond death its essential meaning, which makes it "eternal life" in the deepest sense, is achieved by such a fellowship with God as makes man conscious of the powerlessness of death to take from him anything that really matters. Having God, he has all. The *completion* of this broken and imperfect life, with unsolved mysteries like problems of a child's exercise-book which both he and his teachers have been unable to work out, is in the hands of God; there is no explanation unless He gives one. The *individual life* of man is a lonely life in the last resort. Apart from God we must at last come to cry:

Yes! in the sea of life enisled,
With echoing straits between us thrown,
Dotting the shoreless watery wild,
We mortal millions live alone.

Who can, for example, ever really hear the exact accents of that "I ought" which another man hears in the recesses of his soul, that cave of Sibylline mystery into which he alone can enter? Yet there, if he knows it, he himself finds another greater than man, and we may still, with Jeremiah, find that compulsion divine, even though we protest against its burden as, at times, intolerable. The Scriptural argument for immortality is therefore wholly built on God. Other arguments have their legitimate place and use, but for the Christian they will always be subordinate to this. Faith in immortality is faith in God, a faith which may have to cry on its Calvary, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" but by His grace may also cry, "Father,

into Thy hands I commend my spirit"—words which are still part of a dying Jew's confession of faith.

"I am the end to which the whole world strives ;
Therefore are ye girdled with a wild desire and shod
With sorrow."

Consciously or unconsciously, Alfred Noyes is there bringing together Aristotle's "Unmoved Mover" and Augustine's famous words about the *cor inquietum*, the heart that is restless till it rests in Him. Was the poet also thinking of Israel's last meal in Egypt, eaten in haste with girded loins and sandalled feet and staff-filled hand? The memory of that meal gathered round it the thought of a redemption from bondage, and a liberation to high destiny, a detachment from the world of common things, and an entrance into the service and fellowship of God. In the Christian Passover, the historical sequel to that meal, the morrow's journey is other than across the desert to an earthly Canaan, and the call is to the last great adventure of life, which is death. Where shall we better learn the right Christian attitude to death than in the Upper Room? That attitude is not lament, not resignation, nor even simple trust; in the spirit of Jesus it is the joy of a new beginning, the spirit of an ardent adventure. To that Room, to that spirit, to that Guide, the pathways of the Old Testament nobly bring us.¹

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

ABOVE BURBAGE.

(OUT FROM SHEFFIELD)

HERE on this moorland Silence reigns as king,
His rule unchallenged by the distant roar
Of Vulcan's altar-fires, that melt the ore
And claim their toll in human offering.
The voices of this Solitude but sing
A symphony that makes the Silence more;—
The bleating of a sheep by yonder Tor;—
The brook below, as on a muted string
Playing the music of eternity;—
Somewhere, a curlew calling to his mate;—
Close by my ear, the humming of a bee;
And through these all, a Voice that bids me wait
Until I learn, in calm Serenity.
Beyond the Veil of Sense to penetrate.

H. ROBERTS MOXLEY.

¹ The last paragraph is substantially taken from an article of mine on "Immortality" in *The Baptist Times* of May 23rd, 1924.

THE ETHICS OF HYMNOLOGY.

IN a recent number¹ of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY there appeared an article by Mr. S. H. Moore on *Aufklärung and the Hymn*, giving an account of the mutilation and "re-composing" of hymns in past centuries, and relating the change effected in recent years by the reversion to the original texts. Mr. Moore confined himself to German Hymnology: it may be interesting to supplement his researches by a study of English hymns on somewhat similar lines.

Few people have any idea of the extent of the literature which may fairly come under the head of hymnology. Vast as it is, it is of comparatively recent growth. In England the first attempt at the compilation of a hymn-book was made so late as 1623, when George Wither brought out his *Hymns and Songs of the Church*. Since then there has been a constant stream of similar publications: how vast may be gathered from the fact that in the Anglican Church alone between 1800 and 1890 no fewer than 250 collections were published; at least as many, probably many more, were issued from the various other bodies of worshippers.

Of course these various collections constantly overlap: for example, no hymn would be complete without specimens of the prolific Dr. Watts. Only a few years after his death in 1748 his hymns were extensively plagiarised in Scotland by J. Willison and R. Erskine; whilst in the "*Paraphrases*" of 1781, prepared by the General Assembly, nineteen out of sixty-seven pieces are based on Watts, but all more or less altered.

At the period when Wither wrote plagiarism was scarcely considered a literary offence: it is true that some writers protested against the unauthorised appropriation of their work, but in the absence of any Copyright Act an author was very much at the mercy of the pirate. No doubt the writer of a hymn would not feel so much hurt if his work were appropriated as would a secular poet: it is conceivable that he might feel glad that his strains were raised in praise in wider circles than would be possible if they were confined to his own publication; but it is incredible that he should not be annoyed when his verses were mutilated.

In course of time, though the sanctity of literary property became gradually recognised, the hymn remained an exception. It is only within the last half century that editors of collections of hymns have shown any hesitation in making alterations to suit their particular views, or considered it necessary to acknowledge the authorship of any hymn that they appropriated.

¹ CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, Vol. II, p. 319.

It may seem curious that in such a matter as literary honesty the clerical, or religious, standard should be lower than the secular. In the history of literary misdemeanours the parson takes a prominent place, as will be acknowledged by those conversant with the subject. His lack of a literary conscience is explicable on the ground of the importance of combatting errors in sacred things: a legacy from the early days of the Church when ecclesiastics had no hesitation in issuing an Epistle of their own composition under the name of some Father whose name would carry more weight. It is an undoubted fact that when religious truth is supposed to be involved pious people will descend to practices which they would unhesitatingly condemn in a secular matter. Thus, whilst the editor of a volume of secular poems would not dream of correcting an epithet, the editor of a collection of hymns would consider it his duty not to allow a theological error to pass, even when the verses to which he takes exception may have been the very verses for which the hymn existed.

Though the alteration of a hymn on a doctrinal point is unjustifiable, it is not without some excuse: to correct heresy is no doubt the desire of every sincere believer. But what excuse is there for the wanton alteration of the words of an author simply because an editor thinks his own are better? It is a piece of gross impertinence which ought to be universally condemned. Yet, as will be shown, no practice is more common.

It is time to give examples of the treatment to which objection is now being made. I will take one or two well-known hymns. One of the best known is undoubtedly Cowper's

There is a fountain filled with blood
Drawn from Immanuel's veins;
And sinners, plunged beneath that flood
Lose all their guilty stains.

It first appeared in Conyers' *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, 1772. James Montgomery, a hymn-writer and editor of *The Christian Psalmist*, took upon himself to alter this verse as follows:—

From Calvary's cross, a Fountain flows
Of water and of blood;
More healing than Bethesda's pool,
Or famed Siloam's flood.

(Incidentally it may be pointed out that the first and third lines do not rhyme.)

Cowper's second verse runs:

The dying thief rejoiced to see
That fountain in his day;
And there have I, as vile as he,
Wash'd all my sins away.

Montgomery changed the last two lines to:

And there may sinners, vile as he,
Wash all their guilt away.

As Dr. Julian points out, this "gives an entirely false view of the state of Cowper's mind when he wrote this hymn."¹

Anything more uncalled for than the above mutilations cannot be imagined. It will scarcely be credited that their author complains bitterly in the preface to his own collected hymns (1853) of the way in which they have been altered, writing of the peculiar "cross of hymn-writers" in having liberties taken with their work. To crown all, he wrote of his version of Cowper's poem: "I think my version is unexceptional": presumably he meant unexceptionable.

I will give one more example: Cardinal Newman's beautiful hymn, "*Lead, kindly Light*," referring the reader for the correct text to *The Book of Praise* by Sir Roundell Palmer.

It was first published in 1833. In 1845 in Dr. Bonar's *Bible Hymn Book* it opens:

Lead, Saviour, Lead,

and "the garish day" is changed to "the glare of day."

In *Hymns for Church and Home* (Philadelphia, 1860) the first line runs:

Send, Lord, Thy light, etc.

whilst

I loved the garish day

appears as

I loved day's dazzling light,

and the third verse is hacked about in a still more uncompromising fashion.

So long Thy power hath blest me, surely still

'Twill lead me on

Through dreary hours, through pain and sorrow, till

The night is gone.

Other editors adopt these amendments with still further alterations, and other minor departures from the original text can be traced; but, notwithstanding, Dr. Julian assures us that the alterations and additions to the text are not numerous. Judge then how other hymns have suffered.

The original poem consists of three stanzas, but a fourth was added by Bishop Bickersteth. It is frequently found in subsequent collections and many people would not hesitate to attribute it to Newman. It runs:

Meantime along the narrow, rugged path

Thyself hast trod,

Lead, Saviour, lead me home in child-like faith

Home to my God;

To rest for ever after earthly strife

In the calm light of Everlasting life.

¹ *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, to which I, with all other students of hymnology am much indebted.

The verse first appeared in the *Hymnal Companion* (1876), and the Bishop states in a note that it was "added by the editor from a sense of duty, and from a deep conviction that the heart of the belated pilgrim can only find rest in the Light of Light."

No one can doubt the Bishop's sincerity, or fail to sympathise with his desire to place his belief before his fellow Christians. But it certainly seems strange that it should not have occurred to him that to add to a poem of which he was not the author was a liberty which it would be impossible to defend. It is the more curious inasmuch as he writes in regard to another hymn, "*Nearer my God, to Thee*," that he shrunk from appending a closing verse of his own to a hymn so generally esteemed complete as this, or he would have suggested the following :

There in my Saviour's love, etc."—

which is completely out of keeping with the tone of the rest of the verses. Why he should have shrunk in this case and not in others it is difficult to guess.

These examples show what has been taking place constantly : the pages of Dr. Julian's monumental manual are full of instances. Yet protest had been raised from an early date by aggrieved authors. Thus, the Morning and Evening Hymns by Bishop Ken (1695)—"*Awake my Soul*" and "*Glory to Thee my God this Night*"—were published in 1705 by a certain Smith in a book entitled, "*A Consonance between the Soul and Body*, etc.", with two additional verses to the latter hymn and various alterations. The Bishop absolutely disowned them "as being very false and incorrect"; but the publication still went on.

There, does not, however, seem to have been any formal censure against the practice until Sir Roundell Palmer published *The Book of Praise* in 1862. In his preface he writes of :

"a system of tampering with the text of hymns, which has now grown into so great an abuse, that to meet with any author's genuine text, in a book of this kind, is quite the exception. Censurable as this practice is, from a literary point of view, it must be confessed that those who adopt it may plead, as their excuse, the examples of many of the writers, whose compositions they alter. The Wesleys altered the compositions of George Herbert, Sandys, Austin and Watts. Toplady, Madan and others, altered some of Charles Wesley's Hymns, much to his brother John's discontent, as he testifies in the preface to his *Hymn Book for Methodists*. Toplady's own hymns, even the "*Rock of Ages*," have not escaped similar treatment . . . Bishop Heber, scholar as he was, and Editor of Jeremy Taylor's works, silently altered Taylor's *Advent Hymn* in his own hymnbook; and the hymns of Heber himself, and of writers still living, such as Keble,

Milman, Alford, and Neale, are met with every day in a variety of forms, which their authors would hardly recognise."

No doubt this censure had some influence in accelerating the growth of the feeling that the old practice was unjustifiable, though improvement was slow and fitful. In the *Congregational Hymnbook* for 1855 no indication was given when a hymn had been altered, nor did the *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) give any details of the ninety-two old English hymns which appeared with modifications. Mr. Spurgeon adhered to the old practice in his collection (1866). Of the volume of *Church Hymns* published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, so recently as 1871, Dr. Julian remarks that "Its great drawback is its mutilated texts . . . the gratuitous and in most instances, the uncalled for offerings of the Editors." Of the *Congregational Supplement* (1874) he speaks in even more severe terms; "The mutilations in the texts, made without any reason on poetical, theological or ecclesiastical grounds, are very numerous."

In the preface to the *Congregational Church Hymnal* of 1883, it is stated that the alterations are very few in number, and are "in correction of . . . offences against taste, or suggestions of questionable doctrine in the original text;" a marked change of attitude. Subsequent collections show, generally speaking, a welcome tendency to treat a religious poem with the same respect as is shown in the case of a secular one.

No doubt it is to theological causes that most of these mal-practices are attributable. Thus, when in the eighteenth century the Socinian and Arian heresies permeated the Anglican Church, the hymns were altered to meet the current views; all allusions to the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Atonement being omitted. A collection of such expurgated hymns was published in 1757, and several others before the close of the century.

Nor are the modern representatives of these schismatics (now outside the pale) slow to carry on the tradition, although without the utter lack of conscience that characterised their predecessors. It is pleasant to learn that before Dr. Martineau brought out his *Hymnal of Praise and Prayer* (1870), he wrote to the authors of certain hymns and obtained their permission to make slight alterations to fit them for the purposes of the body to which he belonged (the Unitarian). In 1905 a *New Hymnal* was prepared, still in use, concerning which the editors wrote:

"In compiling a book for the needs of a Liberal Church, variations from the original text are in certain cases imperative, unless our congregations are to be cut off from a vast literature of devotion common to Christendom. These variations have been kept within the lowest possible limits."

The editors found, however, that the present proprietors of the copyright of the hymns which Dr. Martineau had permission to alter refused to allow these alterations any longer : a fact which is welcome as a proof of greater care for accuracy, but which is somewhat remarkable in the circumstances.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which an earnest Evangelical Anglican must learn of the alteration of orthodox hymns to suit the purposes of a Unitarian. But the Unitarian has similar reasons for indignation. For example, the well-known hymn, "*Nearer, my God, to Thee*," was composed in 1840, by Sarah Flower Adams, a Unitarian. In 1851, the Rev. A. T. Russell added a stanza utterly at variance with the Unitarian position, which was duly copied into his collections ; whilst in Skinner's *Daily Service Hymnal* (1864) a new verse was tacked on as a doxology glorifying the Trinity. As we have seen, Bishop Bickersteth also tried his hand at amending the theology of this poem. Moreover, in 1871 another Church dignitary, Bishop How, re-wrote the hymn entirely ; adding a note ten years later as follows :—" A paraphrase of Mrs. Adams's hymn expressing more definitely Christian faith, and better adapted for congregational worship." As well " paraphrase " a Bacchanalian ode into a temperance song.

To sum up,—it is certainly a matter for congratulation that the objectionable practices of former years have to a great extent been abandoned. But not altogether : in a recent private note which I have received from a well-known hymnologist he laments " the weakness of the ethical sense (in editors) not only in altering without acknowledgment, but also in claiming writing that did not belong to the claimant." It is difficult to imagine the state of mind of an editor (often a poet himself) who does not hesitate to alter the work of a poet without even the excuse of correcting a theological error ; but, as we have seen, this has been done in innumerable instances. His conscience will not allow him to pass a verse which he considers enunciates an error, his proper course is to omit the hymn altogether, and mutilation is nearly as unjustifiable as alteration. If the stanzas are too numerous for convenience in worship, let them be printed, and some omitted when sung. In any event it should be the object of every editor to do away with the reproach hitherto justifiably made against his fellows that there is a laxer standard of literary morality in religious literature than in secular. What would be thought of an editor who added a stanza to Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale* or altered Milton's *Sonnets* ?

H. M. PAULL.

ATHANASIUS : A CHAPTER IN CHURCH HISTORY.

"ONE day," says Rufinus in his *Ecclesiastical History*,¹ "when Bishop Alexander was celebrating at Alexandria the feast of the martyr Peter, and, the solemnities being over, was awaiting the arrival of his clergy to dinner, he caught sight, from a chamber overlooking the sea, of some boys playing at church, as children will. A closer inspection showed that they were imitating certain rites of a more sacred and intimate kind; and being perturbed at this, he sent for some of his clergy, showed them what was going on, and bade them seize the boys and bring them before him. On their arrival he enquired what the game was and what they had been doing. They were naturally frightened and at first refused to answer, but eventually told him all, confessing that Athanasius, who was taking the part of bishop, had baptised some catechumens. He thereupon interrogated both the officiant and those who had been baptised, as to what questions were asked, and what answers made; and finding that all had been done according to the rites of our religion, took counsel with his clergy and decided, it is said, that there was no need to re-baptise those who had undergone the rite. Athanasius, however, and those who had acted as priests or servitors, after calling together their parents, handed over to his church to be educated."

It is a pretty story, but unfortunately dull considerations of chronology forbid us to accept it. We really know hardly anything of Athanasius's early life. That he was born some time about A.D. 295 presumably at Alexandria, is a certain inference from known facts that he received a good, if somewhat narrow, education, is clear from his writings; and it is hardly doubtful that he was of Greek blood and born of Christian parents, though we do not know the name of either of them. Finally, he was without doubt a protégé of Bishop Alexander, as the legend represents him. Beyond this all is darkness.

Athanasius's middle and later childhood were spent amid the horrors of the Great Persecution, which, ordered by Diocletian and his colleagues in 303, raged in the East, with but brief intervals, for ten years. Relief came in 313 with the defeat of Maximinus, when the victor Licinius extended to the East the toleration which he and Constantine had already, by the Edict of Milan, granted to the rest of the Empire. Towards the end of his life Licinius himself showed a tendency to resume the persecution, but with his defeat at Chrysopolis in 324 began the final "peace of the Church."

¹ I. 14. A free translation, somewhat abridged. So too with the following renderings.

Though persecution from without had now definitely ceased, the Church was already threatened by troubles within. There had run two quarrels, one of which at least was to have an immense significance for the Church as a whole, and both were to play a leading part in the career of Athanasius. The earlier in time, though historically the less important, was the Meletian schism, which began about 305 with a quarrel among the Christian prisoners at Alexandria as to the treatment to be accorded to the "lapsed," that is, to those whose constancy had proved unequal to the strain and who had sacrificed to idols. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, took the milder, Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, the sterner view, and the dispute ended in a schism, which was still unhealed when Constantine became sole master of the Græco-Roman world.

The other, and more important, dispute also began in Alexandria. The Alexandrian presbyters, despite the growing power of the bishops, still claimed and exercised very considerable rights. Among them, perhaps the senior presbyter, was a certain Arius, at one time a follower of Meletius, but now reconciled with the Catholic party and in high favour with Bishop Alexander. Catholic writers have painted him in the darkest colours, but he was in fact an earnest, well-meaning man of blameless life, a pupil of the learned Lucian of Antioch, and himself possessed of considerable erudition. His faults were a certain obstinacy, a touch of the disingenuousness from which hardly any of the Christian leaders of the fourth century were wholly free, and a complete inability to understand a metaphor. He was an acceptable teacher, delivering regular homilies to a large and fashionable congregation in the church of Baucalis.

In an evil hour for himself and the Church, Arius undertook to found Prov. viii. 22-25, which in the Greek of the Septuagint runs : "The Lord created me (to be) the beginning of his ways for his works ; before all ages he established me, in the beginning, before he made the earth, and before he made the abysses, before the springs of the waters came forth, before the mountains were set up, before all hills he begat me." It was a text which, applied to Christ, attracted a good deal of attention at the time, and Arius was doubtless anxious to dispel the perplexity which many felt concerning the relationship of Father and Son in the Trinity. His argument may be paraphrased briefly as follows : Christ is the Son of God. But a son must be later born than his father ; hence Christ must have been created by God, so that there was a time when He was not, and He had a definite beginning. God is eternal and uncreated ; therefore Christ, as created, is not co-eternal, is for ever inferior to the Father. Hence, He is not in the full sense God, but a being intermediate between God and man. Usually He is sinless, but having free will He might, Arius asserted, have sinned. Moreover, since He was a creature and we cannot conceive a single person having two finite spirits, Arius held that in the

historic Jesus the created Logos took the place of the human soul. He seems (but on this point our evidence is incomplete) to have assigned to the Holy Ghost a position in relation to the Son analogous to that of the Son to the Father.

I am no theologian, and my interest in these events is purely historical, but it is impossible to follow the ecclesiastical history of the fourth century without some understanding of the theological issues involved. Eduard Schwartz indeed, the author of some important, if strongly biased, articles on Athanasius,¹ assigns to these issues a quite secondary place. To him the Arian controversy is primarily a political struggle for pre-eminence among the metropolitan sees, and Athanasius and the other leaders are ambitious and unscrupulous hierarchs, actuated by personal or narrowly ecclesiastical motives. There is an element of truth in this, for human nature is mixed, and one cannot study the sources without finding evidence of ambition and personal spite; but I cannot for a moment believe that Schwartz's view is a complete account of the matter. It is clear that the great struggle was about something bigger than personalities or episcopal ambitions, that a vital issue, however obscured by unworthier motives, and however confusedly apprehended by the mass of the combatants, was at stake.

What was this issue? We moderns, even if we have never ourselves suffered under the Athanasian Creed, have grown so accustomed to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity that we tend to misjudge the position in the fourth century. To the orthodox, Arius is a pestilent heretic, gratuitously revolting against the faith; to the liberal, he is a progressive spirit emancipating himself from an erroneous conception and anticipating modern Unitarianism. Both views involve a radical misconception. The system of Christian theology was a thing of gradual growth, and though it may be true—on that point I am not competent to speak—that the developed doctrine of the Trinity is inherent in the writings of the New Testament, it was certainly not formulated till long after they were completed. The early history of Christian thought is largely that of the effort to arrive at a philosophically satisfactory statement of the relation between Father and Son, and many of the early heresies were simply attempted solutions rejected by the considered opinion of the Church. Arianism was one, historically the most important, of these, and it (or a modification of it) came within an ace of winning the day. In the end the Church rejected it, and, if we accept its premises, the Church was right. For Arianism surrendered the one vital principle on which Christianity had a clear advantage over paganism. It is a mistake to suppose that in the fourth century the question of monotheism was a serious issue between paganism and Christianity. So far had the process of syncretism, the identification of one god with another, proceeded, that educated pagans

¹ In *Nachrichten d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1904, 1905, 1908, 1911.

ough they talked of gods where Christians spoke of God, were in fact monotheists ; ultimately they believed in a single transcendent divine spirit, and the many gods they worshipped were either merely embodiments or hypostases of this or else inferior beings intermediate between God and man. The Arian conception of a created Christ, of different essence from God, yet not truly human, was really pagan, and Christ became but one *daimon* the more in the pagan Pantheon.

Now, as the pagan conception of God was ennobled, God Himself tended to become ever more transcendent and remote, while at the same time pagan thinkers realised more acutely the imperfection of man. Nothing in the spiritual life of the first three centuries is more remarkable than the prevailing "sense of sin" ; all the really living cults were redemptive cults, promising deliverance from sin and personal salvation. The question was therefore urgent, how communion could be attained between a perfect and infinite God and imperfect man. Pagan thinkers supposed a hierarchy of intelligences mediating between God and man, but they did not really bridge the gap. Christianity, however, had already solved the problem in its conception, not yet finally formulated, but instinctively apprehended, of a Logos who was at once true God and true man ; God made flesh, and becoming not merely the "first-fruits of them that slept," but a way by which sinful man could attain that union with the Divine which pagans, no less than Christians, so passionately desired. As Athanasius sets it in his earliest work,¹ published before the Arian controversy broke out : "He himself was made man that we might be made God."

We see then that the Church was guided by a sound instinct when it rejected Arianism. All this is clear to-day ; but it was not equally clear in the fourth century. In particular the newly-converted pagans, who were numerous now that persecution had ceased and Christianity was enthroned at Court, found the Arian conception much more familiar than its rival, and even among the older Christians there were many who, though they detested Arianism in its extreme form, found the Nicene doctrine of consubstantiality difficult to swallow. Athanasius himself doubtless acquired a firmer grasp of the Catholic principle as the controversy proceeded, but it is his great merit that from the first he perceived the vital importance of the issue. He was perhaps not free from ambition, if not for himself at least for his see, and he was certainly disingenuous in his controversial methods and deficient in charity towards opponents, but his courage deserves all praise. Others might falter, even Liberius and Hosius might bow in obedience to the Imperial despot, but Athanasius never ; it was literally *Athanasius contra mundum*, and the Catholic church owes perhaps more to him than to any other single man.

Whether Alexander at once perceived the heretical character of Arius's teaching is not clear, but he certainly took no action till his

¹ Athanasius, *De Incarn.*, 54.

hands were forced. The Meletians, though schismatics, were rigidly orthodox in belief, and they may have welcomed the opportunity to trip up a former associate who had gone over to the Catholics. At all events it was Meletius who lodged with Alexander a charge of heresy against Arius. Alexander loved peace, but he was now compelled to act, and he summoned a conference to discuss the matter. It was unavailing, and eventually the Bishop was driven by the unruly conduct of the Arians to banish them from the city. Upon this Arius proceeded to Asia to seek adherents, and the schism spread to the Church as a whole.

It is, fortunately, unnecessary to enter into the complicated problems concerning the antecedents to the Council of Nicæa. Suffice it to say that when Constantine became sole Emperor the schism was already acute. On the one side were Alexander with all the Egyptian bishops but two, and a considerable number of bishops from elsewhere ; on the other side a smaller but compact party of Arians, which made up in intellectual weight what it lacked in numbers. In this party two men stood out with special prominence. One was Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, for many years the real leader and moving spirit of the Arian party. He is known to us chiefly from the testimony of Catholic writers, and we must allow for their strong prejudice ; yet the certain facts do not suggest a very attractive personality. He had no doubt his good points ; he was an educated man of wide culture and knowledge of the world, an able diplomat, supple in policy, yet by no means without courage, and loyal to his friends ; but on the other hand he was ambitious and unscrupulous, with a genius for intrigue, a born courtier, and skilled in ingratiating himself with the ladies of the Imperial Court ; one of the earliest examples in fact of a type too familiar in later days, the worldly-minded priest-politician. More pleasing is the figure of another Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, the ecclesiastical historian and the most learned and eloquent writer of the day.

Constantine, though a brilliant soldier, was no theologian, and was sadly muddled by metaphysics ; but having united the Empire under a single sovereignty, he was anxious to establish unity in the Church. He wrote to both Alexander and Arius, rebuking them for having quarrelled over such a trifle and exhorting them to be reconciled. The admonition was fruitless ; and finding from the report of his messenger, Bishop Hosius of Cordova, that the affair was more serious than he had supposed, he resolved to summon a general Council of the whole Church.

The first œcumenical Council met at Nicæa in Bithynia in the summer of 325. Bishops from all parts of the vast Empire except Britain assembled ; the exact number is uncertain, but it was not much less than 300, and besides the bishops there came many clergy of lower rank, attending their superiors. With Alexander came his friend and confidant, the young deacon Athanasius, already known as the author of a treatise of Christian apologetics. He was, of course, not a member

of the actual Council, but it is clear that he took a prominent part in the contest with the Arians.

The Arian Creed was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Council; the difficulty was to provide a satisfactory substitute, which without going beyond Scriptural warrant, should be definite enough to exclude ambiguity. The Arians were quite prepared to make liberal mental reservations; a formula must be found which they could not interpret away. Eusebius of Cæsarea submitted the simple creed of his own church. It was perfectly orthodox, but left a loophole for Arianism. With excellent strategy the Catholics accepted it, but insisted on amendments. Among these was one of epoch-making importance, the famous *homoousion* or dogma of consubstantiality, whose insertion was proposed by Hosius of Cordova. This clause excited strong opposition. Even the Catholics admitted that it was not to be found in Scripture; all they claimed was that it was implied there. In the end it was adopted; the discussion had already lasted long, and there was at the moment no satisfactory alternative. The Cæsarean Creed, gingered up (if I may use the expression) by the Catholic amendments, was therefore signed by all the bishops except two. These two were promptly excommunicated and banished, along with Arius, who refused to submit to the decision of the Council; and they were later followed into exile by Eusebius of Nicomedia and two other bishops, who, though they outwardly accepted the Creed, had hesitated to subscribe to the anathematisation of Arius.¹

Thus the Nicene Creed became the nominal Creed of the Church. It was not quite the Creed so called to-day, which represents a later revision.²

Besides the Arian question the Council dealt also with the schism of Meletius, on which it adopted a compromise, bitterly regretted later by Athanasius. Meletius was allowed to retain the title, without exercising the functions, of a bishop, and the bishops and clergy ordained by him to continue in their office, but in subordination to those ordained by Alexander.

The bishops dispersed and all seemed for the moment settled. But appearances were deceptive. The Arian party had been so decisively routed that for long they did not venture openly to challenge the Nicene formulæ, but a direct attack is not the only method of carrying a position, and the defeated party soon rallied its forces for a more secret campaign. The banished bishops, headed by Eusebius, made a formal submission and were restored to their sees; and even Arius eventually persuaded the Emperor of his orthodoxy. The Nicene Creed was the work of a small party in the Council, which had carried

¹ Socrates, *H. E.*, I, 14. See, however, Rogala, *Die Anfänge des arianischen Streites*, pp. 77-85.

² Gwatkin's translation of it will be found in *The Cambridge Mediæval History*, I, 121f. See, too, his *The Arian Controversy* (1889), 29f.

the day mainly because it knew its own mind ; but the mass of the Eastern bishops frankly disliked the *homoousion* and were only too willing to accept any tolerable alternative. It was, however, from the Meletian side that trouble first arose.

It is likely enough that neither Alexander nor Meletius was particularly ready to conform to the decision of the Council ; at all events it was not till 327 that the Meletians were finally received back into the Church, Meletius handing to Alexander a list of the bishops and clergy of his schism and introducing them to him in person.¹ But it was a short-lived settlement. Meletius seems to have died a month or two later, and on his death-bed appointed a certain John Archaph as his successor, thus perpetuating the schism. He was soon followed to the grave by Alexander, who died April 17th, 328 ; and in spite of Meletian opposition, Athanasius was elected as his successor, becoming at little more than thirty the occupant of one of the most important sees in the Empire. He was already a marked man, owing to the part he had played at Nicæa, and his influence with Alexander ; and the Eusebians early showed their perspicacity by deciding that he was their most dangerous enemy and must at all costs be got rid of. He on his side was not slow to assist them. He was of a masterful temperament, with all the intolerance and all the impatience of youth and even without the evidence of the document to be quoted presently one need feel little hesitation in accepting as at least partially true the accusation of his enemies that he persecuted the Meletians.

A deputation was sent by the latter to Court, but was refused an audience by Constantine, who could never brook any open defiance of the Nicene Council. For some time the deputies were left kicking their heels about Constantinople and Nicomedia ; then they struck up an alliance with Eusebius. This combination of the ultra-orthodox Meletians with the heretical party whose errors Meletius had been the first to denounce was a good deal of a scandal, as Athanasius was not slow to point out, but it was very dangerous, especially as neither party to the agreement had any absurd scruples about the sanctity of verbal truth.

The first move was a letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia, to Athanasius, calling upon him, with threats in case of refusal, to receive the Arians into communion, Arius having now made his peace with the Emperor. Athanasius's reply was a blank refusal ; and then followed a letter from Constantine himself, threatening that if he would not " receive all who wish to enter the church . . . I will immediately send someone to depose you at my command and remove you from your place." Athanasius succeeded in persuading him to waive the order, on which the Meletians brought forward an accusation that he had imposed an unauthorised tax in kind. Some presbyters of Athanasius who were opportunely at Court had little difficulty in

¹ Athan., *Apol. c. 47.*, 71.

disposing of the charge, and Constantine administered a sharp snub to the Meletians, but at the same time summoned Athanasius to him. Athanasius gives no reason for this summons ; probably the Meletians were already complaining of the measures of persecution to which they were subjected. By the time he arrived further charges had been concocted, one of them a charge of conspiracy against Constantine. Athanasius succeeded in convincing the Emperor that these charges were baseless, and was honourably dismissed, the Emperor at the same time writing a laudatory letter on his behalf to his Church. He reached Rome about Easter of 332, but was not long left in peace. His enemies, still not wearied in well-doing, now produced two charges of a criminal nature. The first was one of sacrilege : it was alleged that a certain Macarius, sent by Athanasius to the Mareotis to restrain a schismatic presbyter named Ischyra, had in the course of an altercation broken a sacred chalice. Athanasius and his defenders spend so much time in proving that Ischyra was not really a presbyter and that the chalice could not be sacred that one must suspect a germ of truth in the story ; but the case had already been investigated by Constantine during Athanasius's visit to court, and he declined to re-open it. The other charge was more serious : it was no less than one of murder. One Arsenius, Bishop of Hypsele, had, it was declared, been murdered by Athanasius, and a hand and arm, formerly the property of the deceased, were produced as testimony. This was awkward ; Arsenius could not be found, and the arm was embarrassing. Athanasius however set his clergy to work : Arsenius was traced to a monastery of the Thebaid, and though he made his escape in time, the monks were induced to make a full confession.¹ When, some time later, Arsenius was run to earth in a public-house at Tyre, the Meletian conspiracy collapsed, and a Synod which Constantine later summoned at Cæsarea to try the charges against Athanasius, but which Athanasius refused to attend on the ground that the president, Eusebius of Cæsarea, was his enemy,² was dismissed.

One might have expected that the Eusebian party would now rest from their labours ; but not a bit of it ! They were so fertile in charges that Constantine, who was to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of his accession by attending, in the presence of a great concourse of bishops, the consecration of a new church at Jerusalem, determined to take this opportunity of settling the business. He therefore convened a Synod at Tyre in the summer of 335, ordered the arrest of Macarius, who was taken to Tyre in chains, and cited Athanasius to appear and make his defence.

Athanasius and the writers who depend on him lay great stress on the cases of the chalice and Arsenius ; but since these had already been dealt with, it is surprising to find a Synod convened on their

¹ Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 67.

² Sozomen, *H. E.*, ii., 25.

account. Sozomen, however, who had seen the minutes of the Council, enumerates various charges of oppression and violence¹; and similar allegations are made in a letter of the Oriental Council of Sardica preserved by Hilary of Poitiers.²

Now it so happens that new evidence on this point has just come to light. This is contained in a letter recently acquired by the British Museum, part of an interesting collection of papyri from a Meletian settlement in Middle Egypt, which have been edited in a little volume entitled *Jews and Christians in Egypt*.³ The letter in question, written in May or June of 335, is so important that I must quote a large part of it, premising, however, that the writer was a poor Greek scholar and an indifferent narrator, so that parts of his narrative are far from clear. In my translation I have attempted to reproduce the awkward style of the original:—

“To my beloved brother Apa Paiêou and Patabeit, priests, Callistus, greeting in the Lord God. We wish you to know the events which have occurred here; for you heard at the time what we suffered that night at the house of Heraclius the recorder. For there were certain brethren of them that came to you with us in the house, and they can themselves inform you of what occurred. Well, after that day, on May 19th, Isaac, the Bishop of Letopolis, came to Heraiscus at Alexandria, and he desired to dine with the Bishop in the Camp. So the adherents of Athanasius, hearing of it, came bringing with them soldiers of the Duke and of the Camp; they came in a drunken state at the ninth hour, having shut the Camp, wishing to seize both him and the brethren. So certain soldiers who were in the Camp and had the fear of God in their hearts, hearing of it, took them and hid them in the store-rooms in the Camp; and when they could not be found they went out and found four brethren coming into the Camp; and they beat them and made them all bloody, so that they were like to die, and cast them forth outside Nicopolis. After they had cast them forth they departed again to the Gate of the Sun to the hostel in which the brethren are entertained, and they seized five others there and confined them in the Camp in the evening; and they shut them up till the commandant came out to the guard-room towards morning; and the commandant and the scribe took them and he ordered them to be cast forth out of Nicopolis; and Heraclides the keeper of the hostel they bound and maltreated, threatening and enjoining him: ‘Why did you admit the monks of the Meletian party into your hostel?’ Another brother, Ammon, who was in the Camp and also receives the brethren, they shut up in the Camp, forbidding him to receive monks in his house. For there is no other brother but these two who receives the brethren; they made them play the coward. So we are greatly afflicted, being separated by them each in his own place; and so we are troubled that they will not suffer us to depart to the pope [either a priest or perhaps a Meletian “Bishop” of Alexandria] Heraiscus and visit him; for on the night

¹ H. E., ii., 25.

² Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat., lxx., p. 53f.

³ *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy illustrated by Texts from the Greek Papyri in the British Museum* British Museum, 1924.

when the brethren were maltreated the commandant of the soldiers sent a report to the Bishop, saying : ' I sinned and was drunken in the night, in that I maltreated the brethren.' And that day he had a service said, though he is a Gentile, because of the sin which he committed. Athanasius is very despondent, and on his side causes us distress by reason of the writings and the reports that come to him from abroad.¹ . . . So Archelaus . . . and . . . having departed with Athanasius, son of Capito,² wishing to carry away Macarius, the report came to Apa John³ at Antioch ; he came and seized them and detained them, because they had written vile slanders against Heraiscus, and Archelaus himself took the letters abroad. It was God who sent the three of them abroad and keeps them abroad ! So Athanasius heard this, that Archelaus was detained, and Athanasius is very despondent. Often did they come for him, and till now he has not gone abroad ; but he had his baggage embarked at sea as if to go abroad, and then again took his baggage off the ship, not wishing to go abroad. [We have written to you] that you might know in what affliction we are ; for he carried off a Bishop of Lower Egypt and shut him in the Meat Market, and a priest of the same district he shut in the lock-up, and a deacon in the principal prison, and till May 23rd Heraiscus too has been confined in the Camp—I thank God our Master that the scourgings which he endured have ceased !—and on the 22nd he made seven Bishops to go abroad."

In this original letter we have, as it were, a piece of history hot from the oven. It gives us a vivid picture of Athanasius between the devil and the deep sea, with one hand warding off the Eusebian attack from without, while with the other he struck at the Meletians in Egypt.⁴ It also shows why he never mentions the charges of persecution. Like the masterly controversialist he was, he thought it well, by expending many words on the charges he could refute, to divert attention from those he could not. But he could not this time refuse to face his enemies ; and on July 11th, " under strong compulsion," he left for Tyre, accompanied by a great body of Egyptian bishops ; he was always a believer in the mass attack.

The Synod included a few bishops who were impartial or friendly to Athanasius, but for the most part it was a frankly partisan assembly, packed with his bitterest enemies, and the Egyptian bishops of his party were not allowed to take their seats in it. A story told by the ecclesiastical historians of an unsuccessful attempt to establish a charge of gross immorality against him may be apocryphal, and another of the collapse of the murder charge on the dramatic production of the " murdered " Arsenius himself is difficult to reconcile with the previous failure of this accusation ; but the charges of persecution, suppressed by Athanasius, were no doubt debated. The chalice case seems,

¹ Here a sacrilegious worm has eaten away much of the papyrus. There is apparently an allusion to the arrest of Macarius at the Emperor's orders.

² A presbyter mentioned in St. Athanasius's writings.

³ Probably John Archaph.

⁴ Sozomen, *H. E.*, ii., 25.

however, to have formed the centre of interest, and the Council appointed a commission to go to the Mareotis and investigate it on the spot. A tribunal making any pretence at being a judicial body would have chosen an impartial commission, but the members were actually selected from the avowed enemies of Athanasius, and no opportunity was given to the defence to prepare counter-evidence, Macarius being left at Tyre in chains. When, despite protests from the Egyptian and Mareotic bishops and clergy, and even from the official president, Count Dionysius himself, the commission set out, Athanasius saw that all was lost. He left Tyre and hurried to the Emperor, who, on hearing his story, summoned the Council to Constantinople. Meantime the Commission had returned to Tyre with the required verdict of "guilty," and the Council, declaring Athanasius contumacious, had passed sentence of deposition. The Emperor's summons was embarrassing: but the leaders, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and the rest, persuaded the others to remain at Tyre and themselves hastened to the capital, where, dropping all the old charges, they brought forward a new one, that Athanasius had threatened to hold up the Egyptian corn fleet, on which the life of Constantinople depended. On this Constantine fell into a rage and condemned Athanasius unheard to exile at Trèves. This is Athanasius's own account, but Constantine, though hot-tempered, was not usually unreasonable, and we may suspect some suppression. It may be, indeed, that the Emperor, sick of the eternal squabbling and convinced that there could be no peace while Athanasius remained, was content to stretch a point in the hope of a settlement. This is supported by the fact that he refused to allow the appointment of a successor, and shortly afterwards banished also the Meletian leader, John Archaph.

For about a year and a half Athanasius remained at Trèves, an honoured guest at the Court of the younger Constantine; then, on May 22nd, 337, the Emperor Constantine died, a few days after he had been baptised as a Christian. By his will he divided the Empire between his three sons, Constantine, Constantius and Constans, with smaller shares to his nephews. One of the first acts of the new Emperors was to order the return of the exiles, and Athanasius re-entered Alexandria in triumph on November 23rd, 337.

It was but a fleeting victory. Constantius, to whom the East had been assigned, was strongly Arian in sympathy, and the Eusebian party was all-powerful at Court. Soon the old game recommenced; Athanasius was accused of violence and oppression towards his adversaries—a charge which, in view of the letter I have quoted, may well be true—of peculation, of having illegally returned to a see from which he had been deposed by a Council of the Church; and it was even set about that the great ascetic St. Anthony, the object of extraordinary veneration, was against him. The last lie was nailed to the counter by the appearance of Anthony himself at Alexandria, with a

declaration that Arianism was Antichrist,¹ and a great Synod of Egyptian and Libyan bishops sent to Julius, Bishop of Rome, a strong defence of Athanasius. But all was unavailing. A Synod held at Antioch declared Athanasius deposed, and appointed a certain Gregory of Cappadocia as his successor. Shortly before Easter, 340, Gregory entered Alexandria and began a fierce persecution of the Catholics. A church set on fire, monks and virgins stripped and scourged, pillage and sacrilege, in which the pagan mob joined the partizans of the Prefect and Gregory²—such were the scenes which attended the flight of Athanasius from his native city. After issuing an encyclical letter stating his case and recounting the outrages of his enemies, he made his way to Rome, where he was kindly received by Pope Julius, and where he was soon joined by Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, who had been banished on a charge of Sabellianism, and by other exiled bishops. Envoys whom the Eusebian party had previously sent to Rome, had, when worsted in debate, suggested the summoning of a general Council ; and Pope Julius, taking up the idea, sent out formal invitations. But whatever the envoys might have said, it was not Eusebius's game to attend a Council convened by his Western rival ; and after long delay, a reply was sent which in diplomatic but very barbed language practically invited Julius to mind his own business. Julius now convened a small Synod of the Italian bishops to investigate the charges against the exiles. Athanasius was found guiltless on all counts, Marcellus by the submission of a profession of faith more ingenious than ingenuous (for his Sabellian tendencies can hardly be doubted) satisfied the Synod's not very exigent standard of orthodoxy, and all the exiles were "restored" to their sees—in name only, of course, for the East was barred to them.

There followed some verbal fencing between East and West, which only made the schism worse. Meanwhile in the East the Arian reaction (perhaps it should rather be called anti-Nicene), supported by the Court, proceeded at an accelerating pace. But the hour of its triumph was also the hour which sealed the doom of Arianism. The party had always been very miscellaneous in its composition, ranging from whole-hearted Arianisers like Eusebius of Nicomedia to mere Conservatives, who hated Arianism, but felt uncomfortable about the *homoousion*. So long as they stood on the defensive, self-interest gave the anti-Nicenes a certain strength, but the moment they got the upper hand and began the task of formulating their creed they began to break up, and all sorts of cross currents asserted themselves. There were Conservatives, who wanted merely a substitute for the *homoousion* ; *homoeans*, who would substitute the word *homoiousios*, "of like essence" for *homoousios* "of the same essence" ; *anhomoeans*, who declared that the Son was of different essence from the Father ;

¹ Athan., *Vit. Ant.*, 69.

² Athan., *Epist. encycl.*, 3-4.

and finally the rag, tag and bobtail, whose chief desire was to be on the winning side.

It is impossible here to follow the progress of the controversy in general ; suffice it to say that in 342 or 343 Constans, now, by the death of his brother Constantine, master of the whole West, induced Constantius to agree to the summoning of a new œcumenical Council, which was convened at Sardica in Dacia. About ninety-six of the Western bishops and over seventy Easterners assembled. The Easterners at once declared, not unreasonably, that Athanasius and Marcellus, as the accused persons, could not take their seats on the Council ; the Westerners insisted on admitting them ; and after an angry wrangle the Easterners departed in a body to Philippopolis, where they formulated a creed and drew up and despatched a furious encyclical excommunicating and deposing the Western leaders, from Julius downwards. The Westerners, left to their own devices, acquitted Athanasius and the other exiles, issued some canons, excommunicated and deposed a number of the Eastern bishops, and sent off the usual encyclical. Thus the Council of Sardica effected nothing and merely provided pagan scoffers with a little low comedy.

In 344 Constans again intervened, despatching to his brother two of the Sardican bishops, Vincent of Capua and Euphrates of Cologne, with a demand for the restoration of the exiles. This alarmed the Arians ; the army of the West was formidable, and Constantius, with a Persian war on his hands, could not risk a quarrel. Stephen, Bishop of Antioch, at which city the envoys had arrived, made a very discreditable attempt to work up a charge of immorality against Euphrates ; but the plot failed, and the discredit fell upon Stephen's own head. He was deposed from his see, and the Emperor, whose moral sense had been outraged, took the opportunity afforded by the death of Gregory of Cappadocia to invite Athanasius to return. After three invitations (he had learned to be cautious) Athanasius accepted the call, and re-entered Alexandria, amid the enthusiasm of the populace, on October 21st, 346.

There followed a period of calm after storm. Athanasius had always had behind him the mass of the Egyptian Christians, and now he was the idol of his people. The Meletian sect still existed, but it had little influence ; the danger, when it again threatened, came from outside, and even while the Arian and anti-Nicene reaction was carrying all before it elsewhere, Egypt, under the influence of Athanasius, remained an oasis of orthodoxy. A religious revival spread through the country. Many new converts were made, so that the existing churches soon became quite inadequate, and an extraordinary wave of enthusiasm drove hundreds of men and women to embrace the ascetic life, whether in convents or in solitary cells. Athanasius had always been on good terms with the monks, and he looked favourably on this movement, though his strong common-sense led him to reprove

the more extreme manifestations of the ascetic spirit.¹ It may be that we possess a precious relic of this side of Athanasius's activity. The British Museum in 1922 acquired a small collection of fourth century letters addressed to an eminent anchorite Paphnutius, and among them was one from an Athanasius. Several considerations suggest that this may be St. Athanasius himself ; and if so we have an actual specimen of his handwriting. It will perhaps be interesting to translate this letter, so far as its very fragmentary condition permits :—

“ To the most valued and beloved father Paphnutius, Athanasius, greeting in the Lord God. May Almighty God and his Christ grant that your piety be long spared to us and remember us in your prayers ; for if your holiness continues so to do it will be our lot everywhere to be in good health. I therefore entreat you repeatedly, remember us ; for the prayers which you offer are taken on high owing to your holy love, and according as you ask in your holy prayers so will our state prosper. I shall do you justice (?) by believing that you everywhere make mention of us ; for indeed I know that you love us. My care is chiefly for Didyma and my mother (?) ; for Didyma [is in sickness], and my mother in bad health ; so that there is very great anxiety concerning me, suffering this in addition and being in very weak health ; yet I trust in the Saviour of all. Living in the midst of these sicknesses, we rejoice that it came also into your mind to send to us our good son Horion. Theodosius . . . Antiochus, Didyma, our mother, all they of our household, we both salute and address you many times, most valued, beloved father. May the divine Providence preserve you for a great length of time, ever remembering us, beloved, most valued.”

This time of tranquility lasted till 351. In 350 Athanasius's patron, Constans, perished during the revolt of Magnentius. In 351 Constantius routed Magnentius in the battle of Mursa, and in 353 Magnentius, his cause lost, committed suicide.

Constantius, now sole master of the Empire, was at last free to establish Arianism. Marcellus and other bishops were again exiled, a Synod at Arles was compelled to condemn Athanasius, the one bishop who refused being exiled ; and finally a council at Milan, yielding to open violence, confirmed the sentence of deposition. Several bishops were banished for refusing to sign, and neither the great position of Liberius, the new Bishop of Rome, nor the age and reputation of Hosius of Cordova, the hero of the Council of Nicæa, now nearly a hundred years old, saved them from the Emperor's wrath.

Athanasius had watched with apprehension the storm-clouds gathering in the West ; on February 8th, 356, the storm broke. In the great church of Theonas a congregation was keeping vigil preparatory to a communion on the morrow, when the doors began to resound with blows ; the soldiers of Syrianus, Duke of Egypt, were demanding admittance. Athanasius, resuming his episcopal throne, ordered a deacon to read Ps. cxxxvi., the people responding to each

¹ See the letter to Amun.

verse "For His mercy endureth for ever." Suddenly the doors were broken open and the Duke and his troops, their armour flashing in the lamp-light, rushed upon the panic-stricken congregation. There was a scene of wild confusion: the screams of the worshippers, many of them trampled underfoot in the effort to escape, rang through the building,¹ while others fell dead or dying before the arrows of the Duke's archers. Athanasius, refusing to leave his throne till the congregation had escaped, was at last hurried away half fainting when the soldiers had already surrounded the sanctuary.

For a time the Catholics were left in possession of the churches; but after Easter an Imperial messenger arrived with letters of Constantius ordering the buildings to be handed over to the Arians, and calling upon the pagans, under threats of punishment, to join in the campaign against the Athanasian party. These orders produced an outbreak of the violence so typical of Alexandria. Early on June 13th, as the congregation was dispersing from the Church of Theonas and only a few women were left, the mob broke into the church. The women were beaten, kicked, and insulted with the foulest obscenities, the church was sacked and the woodwork torn down and burned in the street. A general persecution followed; and the following year, in Lent, the new Bishop arrived at Alexandria, and yet further intensified the persecution. George of Cappadocia, Constantius's nominee, was not of the class from whom the bishops of to-day are usually drawn. He had begun life as a pork-packer and contractor to the army, and had amassed a comfortable competence by what his modern successors call, I believe, "smart business methods." He was, therefore, fair game for the sarcasms of Athanasius, who, however, goes too far in sneering at his education; for George, in this also resembling some of his successors, had taken up the hobby of book-collecting and had acquired so splendid a library that after his unlamented death the Emperor Julian bought it for the Imperial collections. His character, however, was below his intellectual attainments, and he soon made himself so universally detested, alike by pagans and Christians, that in 358 he found discretion the better part of valour, and withdrew into voluntary exile abroad.

Meantime Athanasius was in hiding. His movements during this third exile are obscure, but he seems to have migrated from place to place among the monasteries of Upper Egypt and the Nitrian desert, and it speaks well both for his personal popularity and the discipline of the monks that he was never betrayed. His immunity from capture is the more surprising because he was by no means silent. On the contrary, more than half his extant works were produced during these troubled years. Immediately after leaving Alexandria, he wrote an able apologia, his so-called *Defence before Constantius*, based on Demosthenes, with the intention of presenting it to the Emperor. In

¹ Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, 81, *Apol. de Fuga*, 24.

this, while bitterly attacking the Arians, he treats Constantius with extreme deference ; but discovering the full extent of the latter's treachery, he abandoned the idea of going to Court and followed up the *Defence* with his *History of the Arians*, in which he assails the Emperor with a concentrated Billingsgate which reads unpleasantly after his earlier deference. One can only say in extenuation that the provocation was extreme.

During the following years he was continually busy with his pen, here exhorting, there commending, there again reproving, ever inspiring the Catholics to resist the Arian attempts to force them into conformity with the Arian creed. On the whole, despite the *History of the Arians*, we can discern a growth in mellowness and tolerance. In his earlier years he had been a cause of strife and friction ; towards the end of his life he was a peacemaker, resolute indeed in his opposition to Arianism, but ever ready to welcome and propitiate those who had accepted the Arian *régime* through Conservative dislike of the *homoousion*, or under stress of persecution. It is only necessary to compare him with a firebrand like his fellow-exile, Lucifer of Cagliari, and we shall realise his greatness. In view of E. M. Forster's statement that "not one single generous action of him is recorded," it is worth pointing out that when Pope Liberius, after two years of banishment, and Hosius of Cordova, racked at a hundred years of age by the inhuman Emperor, made their submission at last, Athanasius breathed no word of reproach against them, but spoke of them with undiminished respect.

The third exile ended in 362. Constantius had called his young cousin Julian, already a pagan at heart, though he dared not avow it, from his studies and dreams of a revived Hellenism to become Cæsar and take command in Gaul. The shy scholar soon revealed himself as an able general and capable administrator, becoming the idol of his troops ; and when Constantius, hard pressed to defend his eastern frontier, demanded reinforcements from Gaul, the army revolted and proclaimed Julian Augustus. The opportune death of Constantius averted civil war, and Julian became Emperor. He could now throw off the mask and devote himself to the restoration of the old religion. Persecution on either side was abhorrent to him ; but short of persecution he would spare no efforts in the cause. Not sorry to see the Church waste itself in internal dissensions, he issued an edict permitting the return of the exiles ; and Athanasius, among the rest, returned to his see, which was now vacant ; for the episcopal pork-packer, venturing on a pastoral visit to his beloved flock, had been lynched by them.

Julian's expectations were soon disappointed. The Christians closed their ranks, and the great controversy died down. The pagans, for the most part, met the Emperor's ardent appeals for a purified paganism with indifference, or an amused wonder. A growing

exasperation can be traced in Julian's writings, and had he lived longer he might have been driven to persecution ; but " they whom the gods love die young " ; and Julian went to his gods with unsullied record.

Returned to Alexandria, Athanasius lost no time in convening a Synod to discuss various questions which stood in the way of the unity of the Church. The result was a synodal letter, whose statesman-like balance and wise charity towards the semi-Arians reflect the highest credit on Athanasius and his fellows and contributed greatly towards the restoration of harmony, though its good effects were temporarily impaired by the mischievous activities of Lucifer of Cagliari. But Julian's edict had been dictated by hostility to the Church, not by goodwill to it ; and when he found the Christian cause stronger than ever and that Athanasius was making new converts from Paganism, he wrote to the Prefect an indignant letter ordering that " enemy of the gods " to leave Egypt at once.¹ So Athanasius on October 24th, 362, began his fourth exile after but eight months of tranquillity. As his friends stood round him weeping, he waved their fears aside. " It is but a little cloud," he exclaimed ; " it will soon pass."² He embarked straightway in a boat and set forth up the Nile ; but finding that he was pursued, bade the crew turn back. The pursuing boat soon came in sight, and one of its occupants shouted an enquiry where Athanasius was. " He is not far away," answered the Bishop himself, " keep straight on,"³ and evading the pursuit he lay hidden for a while near Alexandria, and then made his escape to Upper Egypt.

Athanasius had prophesied truly ; his fourth exile was of brief duration. On June 26th, 363, Julian, engaged in the interminable war against Persia, was struck by a spear cast by an unknown hand, and, carried to his tent, died shortly afterwards. It is a mere legend that as he lay dying he exclaimed, "*Vicisti, O Galilæe*" ; but the story, if false in fact, is ideally true. The Galilæan had indeed conquered, and Julian was the last pagan Emperor.

The army chose as his successor Jovian, a Christian and a Catholic, who, after concluding the shameful and humiliating thirty years' peace, led his army to Antioch. Athanasius, who had returned to Alexandria on the news of Julian's death, hastened, with his usual convoy of bishops, to meet and win over the new Emperor ; and he was completely successful.⁴

He returned in triumph to Alexandria, but not for good ; for on his journey to Constantinople Jovian died, and his successor Valentinian chose for his colleague in the East his brother Valens, who soon fell under the influence of the Arians. On May 5th, 365, there was published

¹ Julian, Ep. 6 (Bidez and Cumont, 112, p. 173.)

² Sozomen, *H. E.*, v., 15 ; Socrates, *H. E.*, iii. 14.

³ Socrates, *H. E.*, iii. 14 ; Theodoret, *H. E.*, iii. 5.

⁴ Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 26, 820ff.

at Alexandria an Imperial edict ordering the civil authorities to expel from their sees all bishops exiled by Constantius, and restored under Julian. The attempt to enforce the order against Athanasius caused such disturbances that the officials referred the question back to the Emperor ; but on October 5th, commanded to obey the decree, they broke into the Church of Dionysius to seize Athanasius. He, warned in time, had escaped to a country house near the city, and here he remained till February 1st, 366, when Valens, alarmed by the revolt of Procopius, and anxious to propitiate Alexandria, permitted his restoration.

This time his return was final. For the rest of his life he ruled his province in peace, taking moreover a prominent part in various controversies which were agitating the world outside Egypt, and displaying the same conciliatory spirit and the same statesmanship of which he had previously given proof. He died peacefully on May 2nd, 373. His life's work was well done. Arianism was still enthroned at Court, but the Arian party was crumbling into insignificance, and in 380 Theodosius, a zealous Catholic, became Emperor. The Church was yet to be troubled with new heresies and new schisms, but the issues involved were different ; the doctrine of consubstantiality had become a permanent part of the Christian faith.

The personality of Athanasius is perhaps not one of the most immediately attractive in history ; even his admirers would admit that he was admirable rather than loveable. Intellectually he is not worthy to be named in the same day as Origen ; he had not the vast erudition of Eusebius of Cæsarea or Jerome, nor the passion and poetry of Augustine, nor the eloquence and personal charm of Chrysostom ; and if, looking outside the Christian community, we compare him with Julian, there are probably not many moderns who will hesitate to prefer the pagan Emperor to the Christian Bishop. Though well educated, he was rather narrow in his mental outlook, with little feeling for humane culture. In his youth he was intolerant and masterful. As a politician he showed perhaps more of the wisdom of the serpent than the harmlessness of the dove, and in his controversial methods he was often disingenuous, though I do not think Seeck is successful in his attempt to prove him a downright liar and forger. Altogether one discerns in his career the hard, somewhat unamiable outline of the ecclesiastical statesman rather than the figure of the saint or the scholar.

All this is true, but it is not the whole truth. If he was a thinker and theologian rather by accident than vocation Athanasius had a keen, penetrating intelligence and a wonderful instinct for distinguishing the essential from the unessential. Not exactly an accomplished writer, he was yet master of a clear, forceful, workmanlike style, free from the fluffy verbosity so drearily familiar in the more ambitious writers of the time. He could be rhetorical enough, but with a clean effective rhetoric,

not the pretentious bombast which merely darkens counsel. He could tell a narrative vividly, polish off an opponent with fine scorn, and at times write with eloquence and deep feeling. His courage and constancy not the bitterest enemy could deny, and an unprejudiced reading will reveal other and perhaps less recognised virtues. To his friends he showed a generous and unswerving loyalty; neither the undeniable heresy of Marcellus nor the eventual submission of Liberius and Hosius disturbed his affection. If he was a statesman in the less amiable sense, he was statesmanlike also in his sanity of judgment and commonsense; and as the years passed he grew in tolerance. Nor was he without real tenderness, as some of his letters show. The enthusiastic devotion of the Alexandrines, pagans as well as Christians, would be incredible had he been the cold, selfish, unscrupulous schemer portrayed by Schwartz. For his faults, they were the faults of the time, when passions ran high. If we desire the Christian virtues of charity to opponents, and even of humility, save in a formal sense, we shall be more likely to find them among the pagans than in the Christian leaders of the fourth century; and I confess that, for my own part, I find the former the more attractive.

But attractiveness is not the most important factor in historical judgment. I have contrasted Julian and Athanasius, and if we take them as types of the opposing cultures the juxtaposition is instructive. About Julian, with all his nobility of soul, his disinterested enthusiasm, his almost ascetic purity of life, his warm-heartedness and craving for love and sympathy, there was something a little morbid and more than a touch of the prig. He was typically the champion of a lost cause, as Athanasius was the predestined apostle of victory. There have been times in history when victory seemed to hang on a mere chance; there have even been times when the worse cause triumphed; but it was not so in the fourth century. Hellenic paganism had done great things for men. It had created an immortal beauty; it had liberated the human mind and sought passionately for truth; it had bred and still continued to breed characters whose nobility is a lasting inspiration; it had even enriched Christian thought with the treasures of its own speculations. But it had now nothing more to give and died at last of mere inanition. Beside these cultured pagans the Christians may seem crude, barbarous, intolerant, and they too often forgot that Christ preached a religion of love, but if they fought like cats that was because they had a cause worth fighting for. Save for a few men here and there, paganism would not fight, because the life and the heart had gone out of it. Ultimately the loveable Julian, spending himself on a hopeless cause, with his eyes turned regretfully to the past, cannot stand at the bar of history before Athanasius, virile, confident, alive, fronting the dawn, the hope of the coming generation, the builder of a new order.

H. I. BELL.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF A VAGRANT MISSIONARY.

It is perhaps wise on my part to tell as straight a story as I can and leave out all frills. The reader may supply them if he desires, and I wish him joy of the happy task. People have often asked "Why did you become a missionary?" and the reply has been "Because I had to." My father and mother had come to Sheffield from one of the villages that border Ullswater. Mother had been brought up in the old chapel at Fisher Street, Carlisle, and father had worshipped with the Independents at Temple Sowerby. They joined the Wesleyans at Ullswater (there was no other chapel), and on arrival in Sheffield continued their membership with that body. My uncle, Joseph Leslie, was a leading chemist in the town and was superintendent of Red Hill Sunday School. In his warehouse window he had exhibited a bill which announced that a town's meeting would be held in a certain hall and would be addressed by Messrs. Everett, Griffiths and Dunn, who were expelled ministers of the Wesleyan connexion. The exhibition of this placard was resented by the Circuit authorities, and my uncle, his wife, my father and mother found their names deleted from the list of members. Neither John nor Susan Robinson had done anything to merit such treatment. They only wanted to worship God as they had been accustomed to do in the small chapel at Ullswater, where they had first seen the Lord. This expulsion took place just before I was born, and when I came on the scene my mother and father were in acute distress, because they, being ecclesiastically homeless, knew no minister who would baptise me. Happily a Wesleyan missionary, who had laboured in Africa, came along and he baptised the baby boy about whom Susan Robinson had been so anxious. Samuel Broadbent, a true Yorkshireman, cared little about ecclesiastical differences, and my mother hailed him as an angel sent of God. While he lived I was never allowed to forget what the missionary-saint had done for me—not in a chapel or church, but in the little front room of our house.

My mother died early, but my aunt, Mrs. Leslie, kept me in mind of the baptism, and used to tell me what Mr. Broadbent had endured. He, with his wife and children, were seven hundred miles from Cape Town, and he was dangerously ill. He wondered what his wife would do with regard to the interment of his body, "among a people who were accustomed to give their dead to be devoured by hyenas." He did not think they would allow her to have a grave dug, "and a coffin was out of the question."¹ God graciously restored him; he lost his wife

¹ I quote this from Mr. Broadbent's book, *The Barralongs of South Africa*.

later in England, and Mrs. Leslie was his housekeeper until she married my uncle.

In those early days our house was made bright by missionary hymns. We were taught to repeat hymns written by Jane Taylor, Mrs. Gilbert, Thomas Rawson Taylor, and Montgomery. I never met women who knew so many hymns as my mother and aunt.

A Scripture History mother had won as a prize at school, bound in gilt calf and full of woodcuts, became the wonder and joy of my childhood. It misled me in one matter: there was a fearsome picture showing the hypocrite with a real wooden beam in his eye. Scaling the beam in after years I found it would be at least nine feet long and as many inches wide. How a man could move about with such a thing projecting at right angles from his head was, and is still, a mystery of mysteries. My faith survived it.

I was supposed to be delicate as a small boy, and, thinking her native air would do me good, my mother took me to Carlisle, where I spent some months with my uncle, William Leslie. He was in repute as a bass singer, and was precentor in one of the chapels in the city. He used to take me with him and seat me beside him in the precentor's pew. One Sunday morning the sermon was long and I was tired of it. Uncle lent me his pitch pipe to quiet me. The pipe was a long wooden tube with stops at intervals. It was gently blown to give the key-note of the tune to be sung. Fingering the stops amused me for some time, but this became wearisome, so I blew a hearty blast through the pipe, to the horror of the preacher and the amusement of the congregation. The sermon came to an end and uncle was not angry.

Carlisle did not benefit me as my mother expected it would, so she came and took me to Sheffield. For two successive years I spent the summers at Shiregreen. The people with whom I lodged attended the services at Wincobank Hall. There—when the College was in session—we used to hear students from Rotherham. Dr. Paton was at this time stirring up Sheffield. Mr. Muir was at Queen Street, and with my mother I went at times to hear him. Dr. Paton took in charge Old Garden Street chapel; it had become derelict, and even with Paton in occasional attendance it did not revive. Yet his amazingly attractive personality few could resist. He had his great work to do at the other end of the town, but one thing I remember—Garden Street seemed to be illuminated by his presence when he came. I remember, too, how he loved a tune “with a swirl in it,” as he phrased the sweet old melody, “Devizes.” T. M. Herbert, nephew of Jane Taylor and Mrs. Gilbert, was at Nether, a spiritual genius of the loftiest kind. He was succeeded by a minister profanely named by boys “The Denominational Cockatoo.” I am afraid I was one of the boys who helped to bestow the appellation, and so far as his profile went the description was as sharp as a snapshot. The scholars could not endure him; at the Christmas tea if a lad had a bit of holly in his hand

ne could hear the sharp staccato penetrating the school, "Give that up, boy, give that up." Happily for the younger boys they were kept in school for a short address, instead of being led into chapel, and were gently dismissed about eleven o'clock. We used to run down to the river Sheaf on hot Sundays and bathe in its shallows,¹ and that bathe was more refreshing than any sermon.

After wanderings more than one can tell, I was drawn to Queen Street, and found the message of J. P. Gledstone met the need of my soul. He led me out into a fair and pleasant land where one's soul could repose upon God. The Sunday School was the best I have ever seen; teachers, especially the saintly John Pease, took an interest in their scholars. In all the teachers there was a candour about spiritual matters that never degenerated into cant on the one hand, nor developed into pietistic precocity on the other. About this time Dean Vaughan was speaking wonderful words at Doncaster, and echoes of his utterances reached us at Sheffield. His words about Christian perfection I have never forgotten. He spoke them to people who wanted "an immediate and entire release from the claims of actual and original sin, who confused together what ought to be and what is, who sought to reconcile the doctrine of perfect ability with the experience of corruption."

Having served a short apprenticeship as a village preacher, I was sent to Old Rotherham College, and there spent four happy years under Dr. Falding. A man of old world courtesy and distinguished manners, he was reputed to be conservative in his theology, but we did not find him to be so. We read with him all the Epistles in the Greek Testament and he encouraged the men to contribute what they could to the common stock of knowledge. These readings were conferences rather than classes, and were to me, at least, golden hours, all too swiftly passed, but permanent in the blessing they left.

We had to preach every Sunday, and sometimes to walk long distances. As a rule we were generously entertained, but in one or two places it was rough but kindly hospitality. In one place the prophet's chamber was over a large kitchen, and there was no staircase. You went up a ladder from the middle of the kitchen, the ladder was taken away, the trap-door let down, and there you were—a prisoner at your host's sweet will. It frightened one man so much that, after the Sunday service, he said to the people before they left: "Friends, before you leave, please take a good look at me. You have not seen me before, have you?" They answered, "No," and he responded, "I'll take care you do not see me again till the Judgment day."

Another student had a great crop of red hair and bushy whiskers to match. He was sent north to preach and a shrewd deacon sent word back to the College: "It'll tak' a rare steam plane to smooth down that mahogany."

¹ The Midland Station is built over the place now.

I was sent to preach in a Dales Chapel. It was very long but very narrow, pulpit at one end and singing pew at the other. It was close, thunderous afternoon in July and I gave out the hymn in the *Leeds* book :

“ Beyond the bounds of time and space.”

No organist came and there was only a young girl in the choir pew. She with great pluck started the tune at her end and I helped at mine but the congregation dragged and the hymn was slow as a funeral march. At the end of the service, I remonstrated with the old deacon in charge. He answered me : “ Well, what can you expect ? The chapel is so narrow the tunes can’t turn round in it.” Trust a Dalesman for finding a reason !

I had preached two years before entering College. I should have gone earlier but I could not get released from the trade to which I had been apprenticed. I had been diligent in attendance at evening classes ; my lifelong friend, Henry Coward, had taught me the mysteries of the tonic-sol-fah and the staff notation ; Dr. Edward Skinner taught me enough of medicine to be helpful in emergencies, and thus equipped I went to India in 1877. As we left Tilbury I heard one fellow passenger condoling with another. “ Ah ! all earthly things change, don’t they ? but that ”—pointing to the moon—“ *never changes !* ” A new discovery in astronomy which surprised me. At Madras F. Wilkinson met us ; as the boat came near we were amazed to see Wilkinson gyrating as if a galvanic shock had been given him. We soon saw the reason ; he had been sitting on a bale of cotton and a rat had run up the inside of his coat and escaped down one of the sleeves. Coolies clamoured around us when we landed, all demanding Bakshish ; one clung to our carriage door demanding a present for just looking at us. Wilkinson thrust him away and he yelled “ God won’t love you, old fellow ; I mean your God.”

My station in India had been changed ; a young missionary had died in Vizagapatam and I was sent there for one year. This was a grief to me. I wanted Coimbatore to which I had been appointed. I longed to preach in the streets, but in Vizagapatam I was expected to preach the gospel of Ganot’s *Physics*, a subject I loathed. I went a year later to Coimbatore and there found the open way to the Tamil language. We had a large school of famine orphans and these children I taught every morning. The catechism of Dr. Watts had been translated into Tamil. I sedulously taught it to the children and they taught me. All the mornings we had a singing class, except on Sunday when we all went to Church in the Mission compound. Abednego David was minister, a master of eloquent Tamil speech.

Assisted by a young Brahmin convert, who lived with me in the ramshackle bungalow I rented, I went out into villages round about and began to speak. Someone once remarked to W. O. Simpson, the

eat "Wesleyan Lion," as Indians named him: "Mr. Simpson, I heard your first sermon in Tamil." "Ah! yes," said Simpson, "the sermon was like a luggage train." He meant he had put into it all he knew. My first address in a very much smaller way came under this description. I had packed into it the old Nagercoil Catechism, whose Tamil, to say the least, was cumbersome. I had memorised Bishop Caldwell's little book, which was similar in arrangement, but of perfect purity.

In the midst of this happy and satisfying work I was moved up to Coimbatore. G. O. Newport had broken down and I had to take charge of the High School for three or four months. Just before leaving Coimbatore, the senior man in charge asked me to go on tour with him through the district. He tried to break me in, but the process was reversed. On our second march a servant was sent on with a tent, being told to expect us for breakfast at eleven, rather a long interval after the cup of tea at 5 a.m. I made no protest, knowing that if my colleague could stand it, so could I. We reached camp at eleven and found that the precious servant had managed to set the tent on fire. My companion's rage was excessive, and while he and the servant were having "wigs on the green," I got my horsekeeper to boil a punikin of coffee for me. This with a cheroot enabled me to wait patiently until breakfast was ready at four in the afternoon.

At the end of the year I managed to pass my Tamil examination, but had to leave for England. The lady whom I had hoped to marry had been passed by the Society's doctor, but she had had an accident, and had waited an extra year at home. At Waterloo she met me looking the picture of radiant health, and we left for India as soon as possible, and for sixteen years she did admirable work. Again, however, my station was changed, and this time it was Tripatore. We arrived there just before Christmas, our goods and chattels being delayed on the way through no fault of ours. The birth of a son also delayed us again. He passed Home, and "cast down but not destroyed," we came on to Tripatore, "The Village of the Holy Foot," whose soil Rama had trodden on his way to Ceylon, and flowers had sprung forth in the spot his foot had made. This was our first and most cherished home in India.

We reached it in the cool season, and the road at the back of our bungalow was like a sweet country lane in England. A clear stream ran down one side of it, and, like the river of God, its courses were full of water. There were "strange bright birds on their starry wings," bulbuls and orioles that sang all the day long.

We had no furniture, but we had packing cases, and better than all we had Evangelist Sundram, who was equal to the resources of a furniture warehouse. We had to eat as we sat on the floor, and I slept on the floor, but what did we care? There was the lane outside, perfectly shaded with lofty trees, and we could walk up and down it all day

long. There were hills all round us to which we could lift up our eyes. They brought help from Him Who made heaven and earth.

In Tripatore work went on with all the keenness that comes from the release of long pent-up desire. Dr. Phillips and myself were seventy-two days out in the district. My wife was with Mrs. Phillips part of the time in Salem. Then the hot weather came and we suffered as most Europeans do. As soon as it grew a little cooler we were out in the district again. There were about two thousand square miles to cover. When in headquarters there was constant bazaar preaching, and Sunday services in the beautiful little church Maurice Phillips had built. We had also an English service for East Indians and any chance European officials who were in the place.

There were lively experiences of another kind. We were camping out just under the shade of the Elagiri Hills when the leading police official, driving past our tent, shouted to me, "Get away as fast as you can—there's a rogue elephant behind." I at once yoked our horse into the dog-cart, and he took us home, six miles, in the record time of twenty minutes. He had scented the danger. As for my wife and myself, we saw there was no use arguing the point with a rogue elephant. We had to "git," as cowboys say, and we got.

In the house in which I lived before my wife joined me, seventeen cobras were killed in one month, so that I wondered if the servants had started a cobra farm in order to get the Government reward for capturing and killed snakes—four annas per head. One night we woke up and found a hyena in our room looking at us with gleaming eyes. These are just hints of small things that come in the life of an up-country missionary who daily has to pitch his moving tent twelve or twenty miles nearer somewhere else. As for insects, I had to assure my nephew, an entomologist of repute, that India would be a perfect Eldorado for him, for this simple reason that you have not to hunt for specimens—the specimens hunt you.

The Indian brethren who were associated with me in work it would be impertinent to praise. Three were of high caste, two Brahmins; they were devoted followers of the Lord Christ, and had given up all they counted dear to serve Him. We here at home sing "Take my life and let it be," but, compared with these Indian saints, I, with all my humility, submit that we have yet to learn the meaning of sacrifice. Some prominent names are Saraswathee, Streenivassa, C. Sundram and Isaac David. Isaac had the special gift of persuasive speech and was equal to any Pundit in his knowledge of Hinduism. He never ridiculed Hinduism; rather he drew lessons from it regarding sin, atonement, incarnation and sacrifice. Listening to him I used to wonder at his skill in drawing these deductions for himself. He had no access to writers like Monier Williams or the greatly over-rated Max Müller.

Among the workers there was one human ferret. He had been dismissed by various missionaries. Sundram asked me to find him and

and he would keep him in order. The man started well; he was a hakim, and against orders would persist in trying his remedies. One of the best workers we had was foolish enough to put himself under the hakim's care: he nearly died under his physician. I promptly stopped the remedies and said to the hakim, "Why don't you try your abominable remedies on yourself and get to know their effect?" He begged my pardon, but assured me that there was no need for him to do it. He was "perfectly satisfied with their effect upon other people."

"He who builds by the wayside has many critics," and he who preaches in Indian bazaars shares the same delightful privilege. An Indian listener is not so self-conscious as an English hearer would be, and he is not afraid to respond if he approves, or if he disagrees. In visiting markets we were as a rule careful to get there early and finish early. Towards the end of the chaffering that goes on Ramaswamy is apt to get "Market merry," as his compeer does in England. In the ordinary bazaar service the evening was chosen and the addresses were about ten minutes' long. Lyrics were played on a fiddle, and the Christian words sung to the tunes.

Maurice Phillips was the best bazaar preacher, among Europeans, I ever heard. Dramatic, full of Welsh fire and abounding with telling illustrations drawn from everyday Indian life—sometimes there were quotations from certain of their own poets, incidents from the Ramayanam, and all of them so used as to lead the hearers to the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour. Dr. Phillips's daily and almost constant reading on tour was the Bible and the Ramayanam. I used to chaff him and call him a Christian Hindu. Sometimes lewd fellows of the baser sort would interrupt, but these he promptly silenced. One ridiculous instance I remember, a blatant graduate, "bombinating in vacuity," had done all he could to stop the meeting. Phillips bore it for some time, then suddenly closed his address with the remark, "Now we can all see by the length of your nose that you are a great teacher; it is now your turn to instruct us." The crowd shouted with laughter, and the graduate had to endure the cognomen "Nosey" until we went that way again, when he begged the doctor to take the name from him. This he did, giving him a new and better name.

This constant preaching in the streets brought its own exceeding great reward. Folk-lore, proverbs, manners and customs, gleams of the older cult of Hinduism before Puranic abominations made popular Hinduism the horrible thing it has become, touches of lofty and pure thought, ceremonies, prayers, ritual special to certain castes, days lucky and unlucky, the way of faith and that of works—subjects like these, but in greater variety were discussed—and no reasonable attempt was ever frustrated. In deeper matters affecting the soul there was a seriousness, a reverence pathetic in its simplicity, which in many instances touched their life to finer issues. These were men who worshipped no images, who were chaste in life, and honest in the

discharge of duty. *O si sic omnes!* There is the other side where superstition prevails, and phallic worship of the filthiest kind is practised. Christ, and Christ only, can be the solver of India's difficulties, and it was His glorious gospel that we preached.

The church in Tripatore grew and the schools were prosperous. It fell out that we had to camp away south near the limit of the Salem District. The waterman in one village supplied us with contaminated water, and Sundram, Anamalai, our most faithful servant, and myself, were seriously ill. In my case the illness took the form of violent cholera. We had to halt at a wayside rest-house, where I spent the day and part of the night in intense agony. We had remedies, but these seemed to be of little use till my wife thought a mustard plaster might relieve me. She prayed and persevered, and gradually the tension relaxed, and I fell asleep. I had wondered what my wife would do if she had to leave me there. God was merciful and next day she drove me into Salem. Phillips met us four miles out and asked me in Tamil what had happened. She answered him in Tamil. At length we got home and alarming news reached us. I had to go to Madras and take over charge of Salem. I had to leave my wife in Madras because there were terrible riots in Salem between Hindus and Muhammedans. The people were terror stricken and troops were sent down to quell the rioters. The old officials were moved (had they been allowed to remain they would have quieted the people) and the new men accentuated difficulties. I spent some weeks in Salem, little thinking that in a few months I should be sent there as successor to Dr. Phillips. People in England see the name Salem and suppose it means peace, and that the name was given by some old missionary saint who had hoped and prayed that the place would become like the heavenly city John saw, and where :

“ Quite through the streets with silver sound
The flood of life doth flow.”

At first sight there is in this Indian Salem much that helps such a conception. It is indeed beautifully situated, and it has its violet crown in the verdure of the lofty hills that circle it ; and there is a river. “*Tirû Mani Nathi* ” literally, the river of the holy Jewel. Gisborne must have visioned something like it in his verse :

“ Where founts of life their treasures yield
In streams that never cease ;
Where everlasting mountains shield
Vales of eternal peace.”

Thank God, one is still at liberty to pray that Salem may become what the words quoted indicate. All Christians in the city, Indian and European, have prayed for such a result. I lived there twenty-seven years and honesty compels the statement that a more unpeaceful place no man could know. To come down to “hard tacks.” It is known as the “Mother of Cholera.” The river of the holy jewel gets

fouled in the dry season and when the rain comes there is always a large outbreak of cholera on the south side of the city. Then the city, with its 71,000 inhabitants, is the chief town of the Salem district, which covers an area approaching 8,000 square miles and has a population of more than two millions of people.

"The people, Oh the people" of Salem city, who shall describe them? I have often smiled at the remembrance of another line of a hymn—"Blest inhabitants of Zion." First there came Muhammedans, born fighters every mother's son of them, but to us of the London Mission they were good as gold; next Brahmins, saintly souls among them, but alas! others who were not saintly. The sturdy artisan classes came next, skilled workers in steel, gold and silver, silk weavers, whose loom products I have seen equalled nowhere else. Then the fine yeoman class, the cultivator "whose walk suggests the proprietorship of the solar system," to quote Joseph Parker's remark about his own father. A young missionary lad just from home met one of these men on a country road and accosted him, "Who are you?" and the answer came, "I am a certain man" (a personality). The questioner persisted, "Who am I?" The yeoman, lifting his hand, replied, "Swamike Teriyum," which may be Englished thus, "The Lord only knows." The questioner, still persistent, went on, "I am Lyell Sahib, Deva Dūthan" (God's Messenger). "Ah," said the old man, drawing himself to his full height and saluting, "Lyell Sahib, God's Messenger! Hail and farewell."

There were non-caste people, Pariahs they were called (the name has been changed to that of Panchamma—not an improvement). The Pariah does not object to his tribal name, and he is tenacious of his rights as any Brahmin would be. There are sixteen divisions of them and these are as sharply divided as the higher castes of Manu's creating.

Salem, when I first saw it, had been in existence as a Mission fifty-two years, and in that period there had been ten missionaries. Four died on the station—one from cholera after he had been in India six weeks. The outstanding name was that of J. M. Lechler, who had built the splendid church in the middle of the town. He died of cholera after twenty years of magnificent service. Henry Crisp, founder of the Mission, died, after four years, of malarial fever, and his successor, G. Walton, is said to have been poisoned by a native remedy. He was born in India and probably believed in Indian medicaments, to his hurt. Three men retired, after a short period of service, from ill-health. Three others were removed to other stations, where they filled in a long period of work. Mr. Lechler framed the Mission on broad and satisfactory lines, and the results of his skill and foresight are still to be seen. The church he founded, however, had its fighting contingent. This had its value, for it prevented the missionary imitating the great Indian god who spends his time in contemplating his own excellencies.

There were village congregations fifty miles away. There were also remote Christians in solitary places who were faithful to the Lord Who redeemed them. There were schools to be looked after, and I still had charge of Tripatore. Most of the year was spent in travel, but my wife saw to it that we worked from a commissariat base, and I no longer found myself having breakfast at night. When I was in Salem there was always the bazaar preaching. We had a large bookshop in the middle of it, the front so arranged that we could hold services on our own ground. Of course there were ructions, not from Muhammedans or respectable Hindus, but from Badmashes, the progeny of the floating unworthiness usually found in places which have been cantonments. Streenivassa, a Brahmin convert, was one night addressing the crowd, when two scurrilous blackguards shouted at him words of unprintable filth. Before he could be stopped Streenivassa leaped into the crowd and gave the two intruders the lesson of their lives; the way he pummelled them was masterly, and he had the sympathy of the bystanders. The end of it all was an adjournment to the police-court, but we were held guiltless of a breach of the peace. What happened to the intruders was provoked by their own act and the case against us was dismissed. There were other similar happenings. I remember the particular night when I told my wife I would give up the bazaar and all its works. "Oh no," said she, "you will go back, all of you, and preach better than ever you did. God must have some blessing to bestow and he is proving your fitness for it." Sure enough out of that crowd were converted two Brahmins who became witnesses for Christ in two Indian cities.

Arthur Dignum joined me at the end of 1885. He had lost his bright young wife from cholera ten weeks after their marriage. For twenty-one years we were true yoke-fellows. He at once took charge of the High School and of work in the eastern part of Salem. He taught the boys cricket and other games, opening out the way to a healthier life. As time went on this did much good in bringing Indians and Europeans together. They got to know each other and such knowledge tends to destroy the divisiveness of caste. The Rev. A. Devasgayam took charge of the bazaar preaching. He was the best *street* preacher I ever heard, and silenced opposition by his personal magnetism, while his short, sharp staccato sentences rang out like pistol shots. There was now and then a strain of quiet humour, but the address would close in a fervour of devotion that left the crowd humbled, if not convinced. It was our custom to have a short prayer meeting regularly, and I still remember the regnant note of triumphant gratitude that marked our devotions when a convert had been won, and my wife's triumphant "I told you so," heartened us for further effort.

Our High School had grown in numbers and usefulness under my brother, P. Sundram, B.A., a devoted servant of Christ. In order to present Sixth Form boys for matriculation the school had to be

inspected and approved by the Educational Authorities. The Director of Public Instruction ordered a grant to the school from municipal funds, but the municipality refused to carry out his orders. I was placed on this Council, and so was Mr. Sundram, and of course we had to fight, but we won through in the end. As I write memories crowd upon me, but I have to leave out all reference to Girls' Schools, Sunday Schools, work among Indian women—in which our Christian women and missionaries' wives took a noble part until the Directors sent out women missionaries to superintend and develop these activities. After eleven years our furlough was overdue, but I was sick-leaved home with a worn-out throat, so the doctor said. This yielded to treatment and I had to tell my story in various places. Critics of Missions were serving out pin-pricks and the great Societies were seriously disturbed. The L.M.S. took matters calmly ; I had had a long experience of critics in Indian bazaars, and the home-grown specimen affected me mentally, much as a mosquito would physically—the best thing was to squash it. Critics ! “ Ut veniant omnes.” Let them all come. Intelligent criticism no sensible man will object to, but criticism written for mere newspaper copy and pecuniary profit reminds me of the Tamil saying : “ He takes a dwarf to ascertain the depth of the river ”—with results disastrous to him and the dwarf.

In 1890 we returned to India, and were glad to be back. C. G. Marshall had joined the staff in 1889 and he made marvellous progress in Tamil. The tutor at Hackney, Dr. Cave, said that Marshall was a born preacher in English. In Tamil he has the same distinction, in spite of the fact that he was not born in the Tamil country. Later came R. C. Porter, who had the happy knack of moving in and out among the people and knowing their speech intimately. They heard him gladly and in the villages would sit with him into the small hours of the morning talking of things pertaining to the Kingdom of Christ.

In 1896 my wife was called to the Better Home. She had been singularly happy in India ; she loved the people and they loved her. The country was no land of exile to her, but was the place of her Master's feet made glorious.

The Salem Hymnal came to its third edition and much tentative work had been done in Tamil literature. *God and Sons of God* is, I am told, still in use in Training Colleges for Indian Evangelists.

In 1906 came the wonderful movement among the Koruvars, a miracle of grace that still leaves me “ lost in wonder, love and praise.” Dignum's work had grown ; the Salem Church had become self-supporting (it now sustains a mission of its own away from the city in another part of the district). Arthur Dignum passed to his rest and we mourned him for many days. This year the Rev. Ralph Robertson, B.D., joined me in work. He was a real joy to me and abounded in his Lord's work. I had just got to our house one evening when a crowd of people came ; they spoke first to Robertson and told him they

wanted to see me. It was a deputation of Brahmins and Muhammedans and they said they wanted me to preside at a prayer meeting of the city people in the Town Hall, to pray for the King, and for the good estate of the people over whom he ruled. I said to them, "I like the idea of such a meeting, but are we not, you and I, at the opposite poles of belief?" "Not so opposite as you think," said they, and they went on as only Orientals can. "We all believe in God Supreme. We all draw water from the same well, but we use different buckets." I said: "If it is only the question of a bucket, by all means let us hold the meeting." It was a crowded meeting and to all of us most solemnly affecting. We stood the whole time of the service. European officials came and the leading Indian citizens of Salem were there. I opened with a prayer in English, a Brahmin priest followed in Tamil, and a Muhammedan Moulvie in Hindustani. The benediction Christians use closed this wonderful prayer meeting, which brought blessing to us all. It was another revelation of the old words: "*Orante, apertum est Coelum*"—Heaven opened by prayer.

I felt this was my last meeting in India and I was profoundly thankful to God that I was granted such a privilege.

I had to leave at once and the doctor sent me *via* the Cape. On my way I renewed my happy fellowship of past years with the Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Walton. I arrived in London, March 16th, 1910, and Mrs. Gledstone, as usual, was the first to give me a hearty welcome home.

My closing word is one of gratitude to God, and to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, a band of men and women who have to do *unlimited* work with *limited* resources. When will our churches at home wake up to the crying needs of work for Christ in other lands? God grant us "The grace of remembrance," then shall we know that there is only one thing better, and that is "the remembrance of Grace."

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI AND TO-DAY.¹

WE are beginning a course of study which, God willing, will occupy us till the end of the academic year, and to which we shall devote thirty lectures.

No doubt some of you are somewhat surprised that so much time should be allotted to the study of one man by a lecturer who occupies the Chair of Historical Protestant Theology. And what a man! A Catholic, a monk, dead these 698 years—three centuries before the Reformation—and thus a man who had nothing whatever to do with Protestantism. All that is quite true: the office of the festival of St. Francis begins at Vespers on October 3rd, with this anthem:

Franciscus vir catholicus
Et totus apostolicus
Ecclesiae teneri
Fidem Romanae docuit
Presbyterosque monuit
Prae cunctis revereri.

This anthem, which sums up the doctrinal side of St. Francis's life, is the expression of a strictly historical truth. We all wish, at least so I suppose, to know and appreciate those around us, but too often our tentative efforts towards that end result in failure because we do not understand how to set about it. By studying St. Francis we shall acquire a knowledge of the greatest saint the Catholic Church has produced throughout the ages. It may be said, it is true, that in doing this we shall be founding our opinions on the basis of a single exceptional case. That is true. But is there any reason why we should not do so? Surely the common facts of our daily life will come to our aid in setting right possible mistakes. In order to know the Church is it not wiser to study it at its very best rather than to fix one's attention obstinately on its less worthy representatives? To know a musician of genius is surely to know and above all to enjoy his masterpieces. In what other way can we come to understand that Church which, throughout the centuries, has not only cradled and consoled humanity, but has taught it to lift its eyes to the heights whence alone, to-day as always, can come our salvation.

That St. Francis is a real and vital personality to us to-day is a fact recognised by many who are far from holding the Catholic faith.

At the Collège de France, one morning just forty years ago, Ernest Renan, who had been giving a Hebrew lecture, was speaking to a little group of pupils who had gathered around him before leaving.

¹ Leçon inaugurale du cours sur Saint François d'Assisi donnée à la Faculté de théologie protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, par Paul Sabatier, le 12 décembre, 1924. For the translation of this Inaugural Lecture we are indebted to Mrs. W. H. Cadman, of Oxford.—ED.

They lingered in the hope that he would add to the formal lecture, as he sometimes did, some thoughts and reflections of a more general nature, in which glimpses might be caught not only of the savant and the scholar, but of the philosopher, the father, the old man who in the evening of life was more preoccupied with things eternal than he always cared to show. Fearful even at that time of the rising tide of materialism, he gave utterance to thoughts which to the young men around him seemed to be fragmentary anticipations of his spiritual last will and testament.

On that day, repeating a text from the Gospels, which was often on his lips, he said to them : " Yes, Mary chose the better part ; the religious impulse lies at the basis of history as its most permanent factor. In that we find the soul, even life itself." Then, gazing on the ground, as though he were contemplating his open tomb, with beaming eyes and yet not without a touch of regret, he added : " When I began to work, I dreamed of consecrating my life to the study of three periods. Blessed be the illusions of youth ! Three periods ! The origins of Christianity with the history of Israel ; the French Revolution ; and the marvellous religious revival brought about by St. Francis of Assisi. I have been able to accomplish only one-third of my programme, but you, M. Leblond—turning to a young man who looked in perfect health, but who died shortly afterwards as the result of overwork—you must be the compiler of the religious history of the revolution. You, said he, putting his hand on the shoulder of another who was trying to slip away, you will be the Seraphic Historian. I envy you : St. Francis has always been very gracious to his historians. His initial work, and its effects on succeeding centuries, have never been thoroughly understood. He was the saviour of the Church in the thirteenth century, and his spirit has survived, strangely alive, ever since. We badly need him now ; if we really desired it with sufficient earnestness he would come back. You will recall that the monks of Assisi, right up to the last century, believed that he was standing, living, in his tomb. This pretty tradition is but the popular expression of a profound historical truth, and since its first triumph under Innocent III. the Franciscan movement has suffered many eclipses, but never one total or complete. Whenever any Franciscans have allowed the torch to fall, others have always come forward strong enough to raise it aloft again, and to remain faithful to the ideal of their spiritual father."

Renan died eight years later, on October 2nd, 1892, almost on the eve of the festival of the saint who, he said, "*lui voulait tant de bien.*" Two years after his death came the beginning of the scientific movement centring round the life of St. Francis which he had desired and foreseen, and with which he would have most cordially collaborated.

The years 1893 and 1894 mark important dates in the history of the biographies of St. Francis. All that have appeared since then bear

family likeness and show a common spirit ; they differ fundamentally from those written before these dates, which themselves also form a very clear and characteristic family group. It may be thought that this strange fact can be explained by the discovery in 1893 of some sensational document which completely revolutionised our knowledge of the life of St. Francis. As a matter of fact there was no discovery, nor were there new documents. The simple explanation is that until 1893 historians had never thought of going to St. Francis himself to find the essential bases of his life and thought. They had his works before their eyes, but, absorbed as they were in their religious value, they expected no more of them than edification and moral instruction. In the rules, the prayers, the letters and the poems which comprise these works, the historians felt the characteristic piety of the Poverello—warm, eager, emotional—they realised that when he recommends poverty his voice becomes heartrending and tragic ; but being convinced that in these literary memorials was to be found the fruit of his prayers and meditations, they saw no connexion between insistence on poverty, the said documents, and his earthly life. To them it was a life hidden with Christ in God. And truly they were not wrong, since the mystic life played an essential and continuous *rôle* in his existence ; but his cries to God, his periods of intimate communion with Christ, were the natural outcome of the events of his life, and consequently are indissolubly related to them. Every line he wrote or dictated is the direct outcome of his daily life. The relationship between all the documents and the circumstances which gave rise to them can be investigated, and a wise criticism generally succeeds in determining this relationship with quite sufficient certainty. Though St. Francis rarely gives information about his external life, he nevertheless unwittingly reveals in the brief literary fragments he has left behind him, a sort of autobiography which copiously illuminates the history of his thought and of the crisis which was the dramatic turning-point of his life.

The study of the works of St. Francis has not only revealed their historic importance, but it has also provided us with a sort of touchstone for testing and estimating scientifically the relative value of the primitive biographies, on which both ancient and modern historians have based their work. These primitive biographies, and by that I mean those which range from 1227 to 1270, are frequently copies of each other. Such copying accorded with the custom of the period, and we must not apply our present-day ideas on such matters to those far distant times. Modern critics think they can state with certainty that St. Bonaventura was led, perhaps unconsciously, to serve a cause other than that of simple historical truth. On the other hand, those critics who have accused him of plagiarism on account of his frequent borrowings from St. Thomas de Celano, were no more inspired than the others, since the idea of something shameful

which is implied in the term plagiarism was unknown in the thirteenth century.

Though they copied much, these old authors did not invariably copy. There are some who copy but abridge continually ; others who copy and elaborate incessantly, sometimes by adding matter borrowed from more extensive texts and sometimes by simply drawing on their own imagination ; and lastly, there are others who combine these various methods.

It is easy to imagine how these documents, sometimes identical and sometimes quite unexpectedly divergent, are calculated to plunge the critic into what at first sight seem inextricable difficulties. A careful examination, however, relieves him from his perplexities. It shows him how to draw up a genealogical tree of the various branches of documents and to fix their chronological order. This very considerable result is still insufficient, for the historian needs more than that ; he must know not only on what branch to hang the various primitive biographies, but, since they are those on which all the others depend, he must be able when examining them to estimate definitely and clearly the measure of confidence which each one merits. But how is this to be done ? Till nearly the end of the last century there had been few, if any, attempts made to apply critical methods to the life of St. Francis. This life, as narrated by the Fioretti, is so beautiful, so poetic, that there was hesitation in attempting criticism, and the real cause of this hesitation was a profound lack of faith—the too evident conviction that the life of St. Francis would offer no more resistance than many others had done to the hammer of the critic, who was obstinately considered as an iconoclast belonging to a special category, the dethroner of saints.

But the critics were not discouraged. They pointed out that it was sufficient, in order to fix the relative value of the most ancient biographies of St. Francis, to compare them with his own authentic writings. This comparison was immediately illuminating ; for it is obvious in fact that the truest biography will be that which conforms most closely to the thought and intentions of the saint, set forth by him in his works with a clearness and precision which leave nothing to be desired.

Such is the very simple and elementary idea which, in 1893, led to a profound change in the nature of those works which had as their subject the life of St. Francis. It is sufficient merely to run through them in order to see that the later works are of much greater historical value than the earlier. Nearly all the former begin with a criticism of the sources, and they place in the very front rank of these sources the writings of St. Francis himself.

There is another pleasing fact which we notice immediately in this connexion, namely, that during the last thirty years the biographies have become not only much more scientific, but also much more beautiful.

they are more moving, stronger and infinitely fuller, and they are more accurate and more valuable and effective—and by that I mean more capable of acting on our hearts and desires and so of continuing, in these post-war days, the work of the Umbrian reformer.

It is as though historical science had brought about a resurrection of St. Francis, and during the last thirty years this resurrection has never ceased to produce the most happy results in the domain of history as well as in that of religion. It would be impossible for me to cite here the names of the innumerable works on the Franciscan sources which have been published in every country of the civilised world. At first certain gloomy spirits predicted that this splendid ardour would not last, that it was only an intellectual affectation, a passing craze which would live no longer than such fashions usually do. These false prophets are, alas, no longer here to see for themselves how mistaken were their forecasts. The revival of interest in Franciscan studies began thirty years ago, and, far from having exhausted itself, it has spread and deepened and is flourishing in nearly every part of the world. It would be tedious to mention, even briefly, all the reviews and periodicals of real scientific value which appear in big quarterly volumes containing the results of the most recent work on this subject—work characterised by the employment of the best modern methods. I will mention but one, the best of its kind. I refer to the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, published at Quaracchi, near Florence, by a group of competent scholars belonging to the Franciscan Order, who open their columns to work submitted to them by the most diverse contributors, the one condition of acceptance being that the articles must be strictly scientific. By glancing through the big quarterly copy of this review, one realises the growing intensity of interest in Franciscan research manifested in its comprehensive contents.

What has been called the resurrection of St. Francis has had results other than the magnificent scientific movement of which we have just spoken. It became the natural starting point of a revival of the ideal pursued by the fervent apostle of poverty. Is it not remarkable that this religious movement, resulting from study initiated by historical science, has made its greatest progress where one would least have expected it, namely, in Protestant circles? Note that it is not the result of an insidious attempt at Catholic penetration into our ranks. By no means. It is not the Catholics who exported, but the Protestants who imported. The representatives of the Protestant churches have gone out to meet St. Francis without fear or hesitation, saying, "We love you, we admire you. To us you seem the purest of God's creatures after Him Whose name is above every name. We are weary of vain polemics which beget pride and hatred. During your life on earth, you did not argue, you went up to Calvary, following the ever-blessed Christ. We would fain strive to do the same."

Friendly relationships thus entered upon between people apparently diametrically opposed, must be the outcome of feelings which it would be difficult to describe ; we all have thoughts which we cannot put into words. But who can say what may be the final result of a spiritual renaissance which begins with such simplicity and sincerity ?

But if I do not draw your attention to definite facts you may think that I am exaggerating the position occupied by St. Francis in the minds of our fellow Protestants to-day. I will mention but two, both recent and well-known events, which may strike you as unexpected indications of new currents of thought.

The first took place in England, at Canterbury, on the 10th of September last. As you know, Canterbury is the ecclesiastical capital of England. From thence Christianity spread over the rest of the country, and the English, when thinking of Canterbury, say rightly, "Ave, Mater Angliæ." On the 10th of September last the town was invaded by hordes of visitors who in no way resembled the tourists one is accustomed to meet there. Special trains poured out crowds composed of the most diverse elements of society. Following the stream one might have noticed that it was soon subdivided into two main currents, one turning to the little Roman Catholic Church of St. Thomas Martyr, the other towards the venerable Protestant Cathedral, the Metropolitan seat of the Anglican Church. The remarkable thing is that these two streams of people had turned to Canterbury to celebrate one and the same festival—a festival in honour of St. Francis—and to commemorate the seven hundredth anniversary of the arrival in the city of the seven Poor Brothers Minor, sent from Assisi by St. Francis. On the programme of the day's events were announced side by side the Catholic offices at the little Church of St. Thomas Martyr, under the presidency of Cardinal Bourne, with a sermon by Mgr. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford, and the services at the Cathedral, with an appreciation of St. Francis by Dr. Frere, Bishop of Truro. The Church of St. Thomas Martyr was much too small to hold the crowds of faithful who flocked there, but the Cathedral, too, in spite of its immense size, was filled to overflowing. The same thing occurred in the afternoon, when there was a lecture entitled "Has the message of St. Francis lost its efficacy ?" In the crowds besieging the doors could be seen Franciscans, of all shades and groupings, Dominicans, Benedictines, and even, here and there, a nun. After the lecture, Protestants and Catholics, with their respective clergy, betook themselves to the gardens, the site given to the first Franciscan Brothers on which to build a humble dwelling for themselves. By dint of patient research the present proprietor has been able to reconstruct this historic erection, so touching in its extreme simplicity and poverty.

It is quite impossible for me to give you all the details of such a varied programme, so full of historical, religious and artistic significance.

The execution of this programme, its realisation, implies long years of collaboration by single-minded and harmonious workers.

Can we for a moment think that such events as I have described could have no lasting consequences or future effects? To put the question is to supply the answer. The noble city of Canterbury, and with her the whole of Great Britain, showed on that day the spiritual vigour which a nation derives from its historical memories, when these memories serve as an incentive towards progress and brotherhood.

The second event to which I will refer is as significant as the first, and will show how deeply the thought of St. Francis has penetrated the ranks of Protestantism. It took place at the faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris, which, at the time of its foundation, was the offspring of our illustrious faculty at Strasbourg, and to which we are bound by ties of unusual strength. There, on November 7th, 1923, on the solemn occasion of the opening of the academic year, a professor who bears a name dear to all French Protestants, M. Wilfred Monod, spoke as a reformer, *sans peur et sans reproche*, of the weaknesses of our religious and ecclesiastical life. Those of you who will read his heart-searching address and try to understand the intense devotion to God and to Christ, to the Church militant of the past, as well as to the future, which inspired it, will doubtless find that your minds are disturbed and, maybe, your prejudices shocked. But you will be compelled by your consciences to admit the soundness of his suggestions, even though they be at first disquieting and uncongenial. We venture to hope that these words of M. Monod will bring a message of healing and life to paralytic communities as well as to individuals. May I be permitted to quote some extracts, if only to show the fervent spirit which inspires them?

"There is a species of intrepid spiritual enthusiasm which is in danger of arriving at the same result as pantheistic atheism. Truly, God in theory is everywhere, in practice He is nowhere—how could He on this theory reveal His presence? To do away with religious symbols is not necessarily to spiritualise religion, but rather to volatilise it. To say that the experiences of the inner life disappear as soon as they are outwardly expressed would be nonsense. Rather do such outward manifestations define and strengthen inner experience, even as language embodies and gives precision to thought. In theory a purely personal and inward religion is a perfect religion. But is such an idealised piety conceivable or desirable in the present state of our mentality? The metaphysician would readily entertain the idea, but the psychologist would reject it. It is here that Protestantism shows the weak spot in its armour. The desire to return to the Scriptural model of the primitive Church has sometimes led it astray. Christianity being in its essence not a matter of organised cult and ritual, but a prophetic and spiritual movement, Protestants have tended to depreciate the

importance of regular religious observances. This was unintentional. Our fathers braved death in order to maintain their right to worship as their consciences dictated ; but the inner logic of a system, however it may be obscured from sight for long periods, always ends by triumphing openly over the customs and institutions which conceal its hidden spring.

How far has Protestantism slipped little by little down a dangerous path ? My intention is to supply the material for an answer to that question."

Further on Monod continues thus : " Actions and living symbols have their teaching mission, for our attitudes may serve as admonitions—as a *garde-à-vous* to the soul. It is well to pray at fixed times. Three times a day the Catholics are re-called to prayer by the Angelus. Let us invoke the Holy Spirit not only morning and evening, but also throughout the day, by a fervent *Veni Creator* in homely French in the Communion of the universal Church. Why should not Protestants adopt the spiritual rule of reciting the Beatitudes every afternoon ? And every Friday, in memory of the sacrifice consummated on Calvary, why not write in a book consecrated to the purpose some expression of homage to our Lord Jesus Christ ? "

It may seem that we have wandered far away from our subject—St. Francis—but in reality we are drawing close to him. These utterances of the eminent Paris professor—showing the necessity of organising among Protestants the inner life and even the contemplative life, suggesting a training in mysticism as part of the educational course of our future pastors by way of initiating them into the higher spiritual life—had as their object the founding, in the midst of Protestantism, of a movement which draws its inspiration directly from St. Francis himself. And here it would be better to quote the actual words of my colleague :—

" The situation at the present time is so grave that I will state my proposals definitely. Why not create in the churches a militant brotherhood analogous to the Franciscan Tertiary Order, a humble, silent, international army, dedicated to charity, purity and voluntary poverty ? In view of the immense problems following on the war it has become necessary for French Protestantism to suggest some ideal of this nature to its most sincere and sober-minded candidates for ordination. Just as one accepts the " scout law " or signs the pledge of abstinence, so the members of the League, the Christian post-war volunteers, will be bound by definite rules with a view to personal sanctification. This means simply that they will remain faithful to their catechumenal pledge. In spite of anticipated criticism, in spite of outcries for the preservation of Christian liberty—which, however, is in no way endangered—in spite of the inevitable but contradictory attacks of Puritanism and Catholicism, of legalism and mysticism, the members of the Third Lay Order undertake, while living in the

world, to free themselves from the stupid and sterile worldliness which paralyses the intellect, shrivels the heart, and hardens the conscience. Such an Order must needs consist of brave men, though it originate in times of peace—an organisation of evangelical independence in face of hostile public criticism.”

Let me say in conclusion, not without hesitation, but in homage to the “Spirit which bloweth where it listeth,” that the Third Protestant Order has ceased to be a dream and has become a reality. It is already in existence. Slowly, in obscurity, it has formulated its principles; its rules are already being put into practice and it has recruited its first humble novices. Let me quote the final article of its statutes:

“Les Veilleurs from henceforth shall form a league which shall have as its object a holy and simple life, a brotherhood of associates whose hope it shall be to found on the very ruins of civilisation, in the midst of our Protestantism, a modern ‘Imitation of Jesus Christ.’”

PAUL SABATIER.

VINDICATION.

MAN, whose high kinship clutches at the stars,
 And claims inheritance of things remote,
 Whose being, like the ancient ocean, beats
 Unresting on the sounding cliffs of time
 In unassuageable desire; enthralled
 By his own freedom, yet daring to be free;
 Whose dreams, though fleeting shadows on a screen,
 Yet seem to him, not melting fantasies,
 But something present in the mind of God;
 This creature, that throws down like broken shards
 Creations of a yester-world, some time,
 Out from his dim, uncertain, dormitory light,
 Into his Father's lighted hall will pass
 And as God's son will vindicate his soul.

A. LANDON.

BEWARE OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE !

JAMES THOMSON was born in the year 1700 and died in 1748. Besides certain plays and short poems, he wrote three considerable works—*The Seasons*, *The Castle of Indolence*, and *Liberty*. To us the catena of external evidence of their genuineness is, of course, unbroken and convincing. We know that they were much admired by such men as Voltaire, Montesquieu and Lessing, and that they exercised a powerful influence on the literature of Western Europe. The parts of *The Seasons* were published between 1726 and 1730; *Liberty* appeared in 1736; *The Castle of Indolence* took fifteen years in the building, and was not completed until 1748.

Now let us put ourselves in the place of some unfortunate critic into whose hands have fallen, a couple of millenniums hence—he knows not how—the three poems whose titles we have just given. He wants to fix their date. Every shred of external evidence has been utterly and hopelessly lost. He has absolutely nothing but internal evidence to guide him. To what conclusion will he come? We believe that depending on internal evidence alone he would inevitably conclude that the writings in question belonged to the first quarter of the twentieth century—or at any rate that they did not assume their final form earlier than that period. He would misplace them by nearly a couple of centuries.

His discussion of their date would, we think, be on the following lines :

I. STYLE AND DICTION. He would be struck by a marked difference in style and diction between “Thomson” (for brevity and without prejudice we will call our poet or poets “Thomson”) and those authors of the first half of the eighteenth century—such as Pope and Swift—whose works were still extant and whose dates were exactly known. He would, for instance, be aware that Pope published his *Essay on Man* in 1733, but could not be aware and would have nothing to lead him to suspect that in 1733 *The Seasons* had already been before the world for three years. Certainly style and diction would not suggest that Pope and “Thomson” were contemporaries or that “Thomson” inaugurated a new era and effected a revolution destined to renew European literature.

On the other hand our critic might, perhaps, confuse the author of *The Seasons* with the author of *The City of Dreadful Night*. Their names were the same. Both were Scots. Each came to London at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years. Each died in his forty-eighth year. To us the Victorian poet is a rare personality whose affinities we are slow to detect. But in the remote future, when

these men are no more than a name and their common language has long been dead, their characteristic outlines may be blurred or lost in the mist of time and the works of the earlier ascribed to the later poet.

2. INTEREST IN NATURE AND MAN. "Thomson" delighted in Nature. His close observation of all her changing moods and aspects is alien to English poetry prior to the reign of George III.

It has been abundantly instilled into us in our day that "Thomson" returned to Nature. On this characteristic of his poetry we need not dwell. But of another not less significant characteristic of "Thomson" little or nothing has been said by our literary and historical critics. He was much more than a poet of nature. He was a poet of human nature. He was intensely interested in his fellow-men—not in nobles, kings and heroes, but in men as he saw them everywhere, toiling in field and street, and suffering in their homes. He was the first of British poets—perhaps the first of all poets—to write what Stopford Brooke so aptly christened "the poetry of human wrong," thereby leading that noble succession of humanitarian poets such as Goldsmith, Cowper, Burns, Crabbe, Wordsworth, Hood and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who in later generations have listened to the "still sad music of humanity" and compelled the world to listen too.

There is a tradition that "Thomson" was a lazy man. We are told that, with his hands in his pockets, he would eat peaches growing on the wall. He may, indeed, like Dante's Belacqua, have had laziness for his sister. But a closer study of his work makes the reader suspect that his indolence, his *dolce far niente*, was often a mask, and that behind it was a man watching the turbid stream of human life and—not content with saying to his fellows "Thou ailest here and here"—always seeking and often successfully, a specific remedy. His indignant hatred of cruelty, injustice and oppression, whether to man or brute, shines with new lustre when we remember that in his days Squire Westerns were magistrates and that cock-fighting and bull-baiting were the refined sports, and the lash, the pillory and the gallows the curative agencies of the British social order. The warm human sympathies which so often overflow in "Thomson" could not, in our critic's judgment, belong to the icy age of the first two Georges.

All this may be little better than subjective criticism, propounding but not solving the problem of date. Objective criticism and a condescension to particulars may prove more decisive.

3. PECULIAR NOTIONS. Our critic's sense of the dignity of literature might be vexed by sundry notions of "Thomson"—"fads," as he would deem them, of the nineteenth century. Beyond the story of the peaches we have no evidence that "Thomson" practised vegetarianism, but, as readers of *The Seasons* can easily satisfy themselves, he preached it with eloquent gusto.

Again, if he was not one of those creatures of heroic mould who used to plunge—and perhaps still plunge—into the Serpentine on Christmas morning, theoretically he enjoyed the idea of open-air bathing in winter.

Furthermore, ideally if not practically, "Thomson" was an advocate of temperance and even of total abstinence. He may have had an inkling of bacteriology.

These things point to a contemporary of Queen Victoria rather than of Queen Anne and her immediate successor.

Greatly daring he uses the word "shop" at least thrice. Unless we are mistaken, he is, with the exception of T. T. Lynch, the only poet that has been guilty of such vulgarity in serious verse—a vulgarity which was hardly possible before England had been recognised as a nation of shopkeepers.

Two or three lines in *Winter* suggest that he may have listened to the oratory of Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park. England had already become

" the land of liberty—the land
Whose every street and public meeting^x glow
With open freedom."

4. "SOCIAL." If "Thomson" had a pet word, it was the word "social." References innumerable could be given; but, better still, if the reader were to go through "Thomson's" works pencil in hand and underline the word wherever it occurs, he would be inclined to think that "Thomson" works that word harder than all the rest of English poets together. He speaks of "social life," "social love," "social freedom," "social labour," "social danger," "social slaughter," "social commerce," and (most unpoetic of all) "social cement." Evidently he judged many things by their social value. What the word meant for him can perhaps be best illustrated by his invocation of Peace.

" Fair Peace! . . .
By whose wide tie the kindred sons of men
Like brothers live, in amity combined
And unsuspecting faith; while honest toil
Gives every joy . . .

Oh Peace! thou source and soul of *social* life
Beneath whose calm inspiring influence
Science his views enlarges, Art refines
And swelling Commerce opens all her ports."

^x According to Mr. Jephson (*The Platform*, I., pp. 4-7) open-air oratory began with the field preaching of Whitefield, i.e., more than a dozen years after the publication of *Winter*. He says that in the reign of Queen Anne public political meetings or public speeches were practically unheard of; and that the political platform was called into existence about the middle of the eighteenth century. What Thomson meant by a "public meeting" is one thing. What our hypothetical critic would understand by "public meeting" is another.

Or again in the lines :

“ Round *social* earth to circle fair exchange
And bind the nations in a golden chain.”

Or once more :

“ The conscious heart of Charity would warm,
And her wide wish Benevolence dilate ;
The *social* tear would rise, the *social* sigh ;
And, into clear perfection, gradual bliss,
Refining still, the *social* passions work.”

“ Thomson ” seems to have been on the verge of an incipient Socialistic view of life—“ the *social* offering of the heart,” to use his own words.

5. PHRASES. He made or borrowed phrases that were current coin in Victoria's reign, e.g., “ the simple life,” “ the toiling millions,” “ the struggle of life,” “ creating toil,” “ the toiling poor,” “ unreal wants,” “ legal plunder,” “ damned to wealth,” “ starving labour,” “ the starving many,” “ undeserved distress,” “ hated inequality,” “ Christian crimes,” “ progressive truth ” and “ the brotherhood of life.” These savour of Francis Place and the underground radicalism of London and Manchester before the collapse of Chartism. They belong to the “ hungry forties.” We cannot associate them with a contemporary of Addison and a friend of Pope.

6. DEMOCRACY. Like Wordsworth and Southey during the earlier phases of the French Revolution, “ Thomson ” was a democrat. He hailed “ democracy ” as

“ The broadest bulwark of the State.”

7. COBDENISM. He followed Cobden in his advocacy of “ social commerce,” or free international trade, “ unbounded commerce ” that “ mixed the world ”— or “ generous commerce ” that

“ binds

“ The round of Nations in a golden chain.”

He swells with true British pride as he beholds

“ the big redundant flood of trade
In which ten thousand thousand labours join
Their several currents, till the boundless tide
Rolls in a radiant deluge o'er the land.”

He believed in trade, in “ all enlivening trade ” with its power

“ . . . to rouse and wing
The prosperous sail from every growing port
Uninjured round the sea-encircled globe.”

In unmistakable Cobdenian language he calls commerce

“ the breath unseen that wafts
The Treasures of a balanced world.”

He was no friend of Corn Laws, for the sea

“ from a thousand shores
Wafts all the pomp of life into your ports.
So with superior boon may your rich soil
Exuberant, Nature's better blessings pour
O'er every land, the naked nations clothe,
And be the exhaustless granary of a world.”

Such lines might have been manufactured in Manchester, and if John Bright had known of them he would have poured them forth in a flood of oratory at the Free Trade Hall.

“ Thomson ” also follows Cobden in his plea for a strong navy.

8. “ THOMSON ” WAS A RUSKINIAN. His were

“ the plans of policy and peace ;
To live like brothers and, conjunctive, all
Embellish life.”

The possibility of joy in work makes him lyrical.

“ Full are thy cities with the sons of art
And trade and joy in every busy street,
Mingling are heard ; e'en Drudgery himself
As at the car he sweats or, dusty, hews
The palace stone, looks gay.”

9. “ THOMSON ” WAS A MEMBER OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY. He works the word “ labour ” almost or quite as hard as the word “ social.” He glorifies industry.

“ These are thy blessings, Industry ! rough Power
Whom labour still attends and sweat and pain.
. . . . Industry approach'd
And roused [man] from his miserable sloth,
His faculties unfolded.”

Like Proudhon he held that

“ All is the gift of Industry ; whate'er
Exalts, embellishes and renders life
Delightful.”

He bids masters to

“ Be mindful of the rough laborious hand
That sinks [them] soft in elegance and ease.”

His far-reaching views and tender humanity are conspicuous in the following lines :

“ O ! is there not some patriot, in whose power
That best, that god-like luxury is placed,
Of blessing thousands, thousands yet unborn,
Though late posterity ? some, large of soul,
To cheer dejected Industry ? to give
A double harvest to the labouring swain,—
And teach the labouring hands the sweets of toil ?

In such an aspiration we detect "all the social offspring of the heart," so dear to "Thomson." He felt keenly for "crushed out lives," whether of "the Russian exile" or

"the lone widow and her orphans, pined
In starving solitude; while Luxury,
In palaces, lay straining her low thought
To form unreal wants."

He remembered

. . . "the blameless poor, the nobly maimed,
The lost to reason, the declined in life,
The helpless young that kiss no mother's hand,
And the gray, second infancy of age."

He had compassion on "the labouring hand" and his "hard laborious life." He would

"bid Industry rejoice
And the rough sons of lowest labour smile."

The Castle of Indolence is an allegory, a Divine Comedy of Labour and the class war. The first canto gives a glowing picture of the luxury and laxity of the capitalist whose

"Only labour was to kill the time."

The second canto is the triumph of "Thomson's" hero

"The Knight of Art and Industry
And his achievements fair
That by this Castle's overthrow;
Secured and crowned were."

Thrice at least he dubs "Industry" as "Sir Knight"—a possible reminiscence of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour of America, founded in 1869.¹

Laissez faire he made light of. "What," he asks

"cannot active government perform
New moulding man?"

He knew Keir Hardie. At any rate we cannot banish Keir Hardie from our minds when we read that

"Rough Labour closed the train; and in his hands,
Rude, callous, sinew-swelled and black with toil,
Came manly Indignation. Sour he seems,
And more than seems, by lawless pride assailed,
Yet kind at heart and just and generous; there
No vengeance lurks, no pale insidious gill.
. . . . Even in the very luxury of rage
He, softening, can forgive a gallant foe,
The nerve, support and glory of the land."

¹ The root idea of *The Castle of Indolence* is in *Autumn*, lines 72 and 73,
" . . . till Industry approached,
And roused him from his miserable sloth."

10. "THOMSON," AS WE NOW HAVE HIM, CANNOT BE EARLIER THAN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

He knew of garden cities and town-planning. For "streets read "Ways" or "Drives," and we can almost identify him as denizen of the Hampstead Garden Suburb, with serene complacency contemplating the amenities of that favoured and airy spot.

"Even framed with elegance, the plain retreat,
The private dwelling. . . .
August around what public works I see!
Lo! stately streets! Lo! squares that court the breeze."

He advocated national development and a brighter England.

"Lo! rayed from cities o'er the brightened land,
Connecting sea to sea, the solid road.

See long canals and deepened rivers join
Each part with each and with the circling main
The whole enlivened isle."

Clearly he knew of the Road Board and of the Nottingham Ship Canal and the deepened Trent. If he was against "the fogs of prejudice" he was also against those fogs from which he would

"Clear the turbid city."

11. LLOYD GEORGE. He knew of the fierce agitations that marked the official career of Lloyd George in the years before the Great War. He sang, or tried to sing, of Old Age Pensions, Child Welfare, Health Insurance, and Insurance against Invalidity and Unemployment, and thus:

"Nor shivering age, nor sickness without friend
Or home or bed to bear his burning load,
Nor agonising infant, that ne'er gained
His guiltless pangs, I see! The stores profuse
Which British bounty has to these assign'd.
No more the sacrilegious riot swell
Of cannibal devourers! Right applied,
No starving wretch the land of freedom stains;
If poor, employment finds; if old, demands,
If sick, if maimed, his miserable due;
And will, if young, repay the fondest care."

These scrambling lines, by their punctuation, grammar and humanitarian sentiment, point to an idealistic twentieth century Durham miner aspiring to a course at Ruskin College; as also does this passage:

"Whether the blameless poor, the nobly maimed,
The lost to reason, the declined in life,
The helpless young that kiss no mother's hand,
And the gray second infancy of age
She gives in public families to live,
A sight to gladden heaven! whether she stands

Fair-beckoning at the hospitable gate,
And bids the stranger take repose and joy ;
Whether, to solace honest labour, she
Rejoices those that make the land rejoice."

12. THEOLOGY. Theology in "Thomson" is scanty. His line

"The joy of God to see a happy world."

may have been inspired by Lessing—hardly by Pope or Bolingbroke or their deistic contemporaries. He was no frigid believer in a "first great cause," or in that calm optimism which holds "whatever is, is right." He realised the boundless possibilities of humanity.

"This infancy of being cannot prove
The final issue of the works of God,
By boundless love and perfect wisdom formed,
And ever rising with the rising mind."

His faith was that

"the Great Shepherd reigns
And his unsuffering Kingdom yet shall come."

His prayer was

"Father of light and life! thou Good Supreme!
O teach me what is good! teach me Thyself!"

All the foregoing quotations are from "Thomson." Many of them are no better than versified prose, but they have not been culled to adorn the brow of the poet. We are not estimating his literary value. We are commonplace sociologists, illustrating his views on questions that are of interest to ourselves. These views are modern. They are recent. They tempt us to crown him as the Laureate of Labour, or as the pioneer in whose track we are following. The poet we leave in Mr. Saintsbury's competent hands. The man, the discoverer of social evils and of their remedies, we commend to the London School of Economics.

But if in the remote future some stray critic should light on "Thomson" as on a socialistic Melchisedec with no mark of ancestry or progeny, how would he judge of his date? Every external clue is lacking. The only available criterion is character and content. Cumulative proof will abound that—unless, like Cimabue, that early pioneer in the realm of art, he is little more than a legendary figure—he must have been worked over again and again. For the final recension our critic will find no period more appropriate than the reign of King George the Fifth.

As a phenomenon "Thomson" is unique and the unique is bewildering. In his case external and internal evidence clash with irreconcilable contradiction, and our critic of A.D. 2925, possessing only the latter, will be hopelessly and unavoidably wrong. Internal evidence is precarious. Beware of it!

W. J. PAYLING WRIGHT.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

A CENTURY'S investigation of the literary history of the first three Gospels has followed a course which affords a pleasing example of the passage of critical study from the stage of biased assumption and irresponsible speculation, through the "dry-as-dust" stage of meticulous examination of detail, often seeming to lead nowhere, to the stage in which it is possible to formulate conclusions commanding general assent. It is a triumph for the scientific method of hypothesis and trial. The course is strewn with the corpses of hypotheses which failed under trial, but died not all in vain. We had theories in which oral tradition was held sufficient to account for all the phenomena; theories of a primitive apostolic "*Grundschrift*," independently excerpted and edited by all three; and then a bewildering succession of theories of special sources, so various that in some minds they produced a reaction to complete scepticism. The critics seemed to know so much more than it was possible for anyone to know, and each proved the others wrong. Now we do seem to be emerging into a clearer light in which on the one hand we recognise the necessary limits of our knowledge, but on the other hand discover a steadily growing confidence in certain specific conclusions from which further advance may safely be made. From time to time ingenious persons still entertain us with brand-new solutions of the whole problem hatched over-night, but a testing of them invariably issues in a renewed conviction that in its essential features the main line of recent criticism is not likely to be proved wrong.

The appearance of Canon Streeter's new book on Gospel Origins serves to mark a definite stage in the development of Synoptic criticism. It is not solely concerned with this particular problem. Indeed, one of the outstanding merits of the book is the way in which it brings several problems of early Christianity into one survey, and makes them illuminate one another. The Synoptic Problem is shown to be intimately associated with the problem of the early variant texts of the Gospels, and that in turn with the problem of the beginnings of the N.T. Canon. Another feature of the book is the re-emergence of the problem of the Fourth Gospel into the field in which Synoptic criticism moves. Half-a-century ago the recognition that the Fourth Gospel stood by itself and involved quite special problems was a decisive contribution to progress in Gospel criticism. Now, however, the time has come when it is useful to realise that the separation is not after all complete. Mark is a source of John just as of the other

¹ *The Four Gospels : a Study of Origins* by B. H. Streeter; Macmillan, 21s.

Synoptics, and the relations of John and Luke have importance both for the Johannine and for the Synoptic problem. The treatment of the Fourth Gospel is the slightest portion of Canon Streeter's book, but it suggests a re-orientation of the problem which should help towards further advance. Here, however, we are properly concerned with the Synoptic Problem.

The new book soberly follows the main line of advance. It builds on the foundations of careful and solid work already done. Where it goes forward it does so largely by bringing into a new perspective and a new synthesis facts which have lain about uneasily on the fringes of accepted theories. I propose first to review the elements of the problem where an accepted solution may be said to be in sight, and note where the new book consolidates the position here; and then to touch upon some of the new contributions which are offered towards further solution of the problem.

The first fixed point in Synoptic criticism is the priority of Mark. It was first put forth as a hypothesis simultaneously by Weisse and by Wilke in 1838. During the intervening period it has been tested, revised, attacked and defended in all possible ways, with the result that it stands firm, and it is unlikely that it will be overthrown unless some totally fresh discovery of hitherto inaccessible facts should alter the balance of the evidence. The logical consequences of this fact should be more rigorously drawn than they usually are in English books on the Gospels. Clearly we must give up the appeal to a consensus of three Gospels, since it may mean no more than that Luke and Matthew have faithfully copied their source. Nor in such cases are we at liberty to "prefer" the Matthæan or Lucan version of a saying or incident unless in the particular case there is some good reason for believing that Mark is being supplemented from some other source.

While, however, the priority of Mark in some sense is generally acknowledged, Synoptic criticism has been haunted by a theory which undermines the effect of that acknowledgment. The theory is that while Matthew and Luke certainly used a document very like our Mark, it was not actually the second gospel as we have it, but a more primitive document of which our Mark is a revision—"Urmarcus." This theory has for various reasons been very tenaciously held, but the way in which it has been driven from one position to another is an interesting study. In some of its later phases it has put forth alarming complications of Proto-Mark, Deutero-Mark, and Trito-Mark. Like the epicycles by which the Ptolemaic astronomy vainly attempted to avoid conclusions to which it was being driven, these complications point towards the breakdown of the theory. Here Canon Streeter has made important contributions to clear thinking. In particular, he has demonstrated that the agreements of Luke and Matthew against Mark (in Marcan sections) of which so much has been made, shrink to

very small dimensions when once the student begins to work with the MS. texts instead of a printed edition. The majority, perhaps, of such agreements are in fact textual and not synoptic phenomena. What remains is enough to show that in so far as the copies of Mark used by Matthew and Luke differed at all from our second gospel their "Mark" was not more primitive than ours, but less so, having perhaps suffered minor scribal corrections in the direction of better Greek. We need have no misgivings in treating our Mark (without of course the spurious ending) as the primitive source of narrative used by the two other Synoptics.

The second matter in which we are approaching something like an agreed conclusion is the identification of the "second source," from which Matthew and Luke have supplemented their Marcan material. The doctrine of the second source has undergone some vicissitudes. It was early observed that the material borrowed by Matthew from Mark constituted almost the whole of his *narrative*, and that even Luke had comparatively little pure *narrative* from a non-Markan source, while both had masses of *sayings* not found in Mark, and often given by them in such closely similar forms that it was difficult not to suppose that they were using a common source. The hypothesis emerged that early collections of Sayings underlay these gospels. The nuclear passages were those common to Matthew and Luke where they are independent of Mark. Few critics, however, were content to let these stand alone. The early theories of the second source almost always aimed at "reconstructing" a grandiose document containing in effect all such sayings as commended themselves to the subjective judgment of the particular critic as most authentic. Papias had spoken of the "Logia of the Lord" which Matthew had compiled in "Hebrew." A favourite conjecture was that the lost Book of Sayings was so entitled and apostolic authority was claimed for this purely hypothetical document on the strength of the Papias passage. To this day writers are found (probably not outside this country) who speak of the "Matthæan Logia" as though it were an ascertained document—notwithstanding that Dr. Burkitt has pointed out that this was a most unlikely title for a book of sayings, and suggested that the "Logia" were really Messianic prophecies from the O.T., collected into a "Testimony Book" for doctrinal and apologetic purposes. That such a collection existed is highly probable, and it is also probable that it was laid under contribution by our first evangelist as well as by other N.T. writers, though Dr. Rendel Harris's speculations on this subject often fail of complete conviction. But a recent study of the use of the term *Logia* in ancient Jewish and Christian writers should greatly assist in clarifying thought on this point. Father Donovan¹ has shown by exhaustive examination of attested uses of the expression, that there

¹ *The Logia in Ancient and Recent Literature*, by John Donovan, S. J. M.A. W. Hefter. 2s.

is no reason to suppose that Papias had in view either a collection of sayings of Jesus or a collection of prophecies, since the expression "Logia of God" or "Logia of the Lord" is the simple equivalent of "The Word of God," or "Holy Writ," meaning for Jewish, and for the earliest Christian, writers the O.T., and then as the idea of a Christian Canon grew, more especially the Gospels and other N.T. writings. Thus in the context Papias clearly must have meant nothing other than our Gospel according to Matthew, which for him was already "Holy Scripture." This is Father Donovan's conclusion, and it is difficult not to accept it on the evidence he adduces. It confirms Professor Bacon's view recently put forward in the *Expositor*.¹ This does not differ widely from Canon Streeter's view, for he too holds that Papias was referring to our First Gospel, though he would find in the use of the term Logia a suggestion that Papias was interested in the Gospel mainly for its "oracles" concerning the End of the Age. In any case, the "Matthæan Logia" as a Gospel source should probably now be given decent burial.

A more sober line of thought about the second source has latterly established itself first among German and then among English scholars. Harnack was a pioneer in this matter. He taught us to lay aside speculation about what the second source *may* have contained, and confine ourselves to what it *must* have contained, viz., these passages in Matthew and Luke which from their close resemblance and their order in the Gospels can be shown to have existed in written form in Greek before either of those Gospels was written, irrespective of such similarities as can be better explained by modification of oral tradition or by an Aramaic line of transmission behind the Greek. That such a document existed can scarcely be doubted by anyone competent to judge who takes the trouble to make a real examination of the data. It is to such a document that the symbol "Q" is properly given, and it would greatly conduce to clearness if writers on the subject would keep the symbol for this purpose. Only with this restriction can "Q" become a subject of scientific investigation as distinct from irresponsible conjecture. Even so, the hypothesis is not without difficulties. For, as Harnack showed long ago, the degree of resemblance varies from a practical identity of wording to a merely general similarity, and it is difficult to know where to draw the line. Not only so, but there are certain portions of the common matter where the subject is clearly the same and the order of occurrence the same, and yet the verbal similarity is so slight that apart from these other facts one would not have attributed them to the same source.

From this point Canon Streeter has made an advance. But first it is necessary to observe that further study of the data has led him to give up the view, which he put forth in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911), that there are certain passages where Mark has

¹ "Why according to Matthew?" (*Expos.* 8th series, Vol. XX, 289 sqq.)

used "Q" as a source. He now takes the view, which seems to me unquestionably right, that in such cases the two documents, Mark and "Q," "overlap," giving a somewhat different version of what was originally the same saying, differently modified in separate channels of oral tradition before it was written down. But, if that is so, may not similar "overlapping" of documents explain some of the difficulties attending the recognition of "Q" matter? It can be shown that in certain passages (*e.g.*, 12²⁵⁻³²) Matthew has conflated Mark and "Q." May not similar phenomena presented by non-Markan passages (*e.g.*, the Beatitudes) be explained by the conflation of "Q" with an unknown source?

This, carefully worked out over a large number of passages, is Canon Streeter's argument, and it seems thoroughly convincing. With even less difficulty a distinct source can be recognised in Luke. He therefore formulates a new "Four-Document Hypothesis" to replace the old "Two-Document Hypothesis." Mark, "Q," a special source of Matthew ("M"), and a special source of Luke ("L"), must be allowed for as ultimate sources, and each of these overlapped the others to some extent. Thus we must abandon the hope of being able to "reconstruct" with any precision any one of our sources other than Mark, but on the other hand we are left with a theory which will dispense us from cumbrous and almost meaningless concepts like "Q_{mt}" and "Q_{lk}," as well as from assumptions of extensive editing of the sources Mark and "Q," by the other evangelists, and we are left with four sources, all of respectable antiquity.

But a warning must here be given. Canon Streeter himself does indeed observe the danger, but it needs to be made more explicit. It is quite true that the sources "M" and "L" *may* be as old as Mark and "Q," or nearly so. But if the new theory were held to mean that we are at liberty to conclude that virtually anything in the Gospels may be attributed to one or other of a number of equally early and authoritative sources, so that there is no criterion of relative historical authenticity, then it would mean reaction and not progress in Synoptic criticism. It still remains true that if a passage occurs in Mark, or if it can be shown to have existed in written form before it was used by Matthew and Luke (and this can be proved in certain cases), then it does demonstrably belong to an early stratum of tradition. Otherwise it *may* belong to an early source, or it may be due to a late evangelist. For when we observe how freely Matthew has modified his Marcan matter, even in places where it is not likely that he is conflating, we shall not feel very confident that he confined himself to strict reproduction in using his other sources. Again, Dr. Burkitt has shown in the second volume of *The Beginnings of Christianity* that, faithful as Luke is in essentials to Mark, we should be hard put to it to form any true estimate of his Marcan material if the second Gospel had perished. We can check him when is he using Mark and to a less extent when

he is using "Q," but when he is using his special source we are at his mercy. Mark and "Q" remain the pillars of the historicity of the gospels.

The recognition of the special Lucan source is accompanied by a worked-out theory of the composition of the Third Gospel, in which the author is especially interested. Probably his theory of Proto-Luke (already familiar from a much discussed *Hibbert* article) will in one form or another come to be accepted. At least he seems to have shown that the "L" and "Q" portions were combined independently of Mark and that where the combined document overlapped with Mark it was in general preferred to Mark. Whether Proto-Luke ever existed as an entirely independent "publication," and whether or not it was compiled by the same person who afterwards incorporated it with Mark, are minor questions upon which opinion will doubtless be divided. In any case Canon Streeter has greatly advanced our understanding of the Third Gospel. For the First Gospel he has not done so much. Doubtless he is right in recognising besides Mark and "Q" a third source, of a predominantly Jewish-Christian character, which in a measure overlapped with these other sources. But analysis is here confessedly more difficult. It is not so clear as in the case of Luke that the non-Markan and non-"Q" elements in Matthew are at all homogeneous and the elimination of the evangelist's own editorial work is even more difficult. It was probably extensive.

The dissection of the Gospels into sources and documents has for many persons an unattractive appearance of being abstract and unreal. Such readers will find interesting Canon Streeter's attempt to connect the growth of the Gospels with the life of the early Christian communities. We are to imagine each Church of any importance having its own collection of material relating to the life and teaching of Jesus. The opinion that Mark is Roman is so widely held to-day that it may be put down almost as an accepted conclusion. That it happens also to be a very early tradition is no discredit to the opinion. The case for a Cæsarean origin for the peculiarly Lucan matter was put forward persuasively by Harnack and it is supported by Canon Streeter. Rome and Cæsarea are churches whose traditions we should expect to command respect. The attribution of "M" to Jerusalem is attractive. The strongly Judaistic character of much of the matter peculiar to Matthew is readily explained by the hypothesis that it came from that Jerusalem community which, after the scattering of Stephen's Hellenistic party, fell under the influence of James, the Lord's brother, whose name was invoked by Paul's Judaistic adversaries, and whose position differed so slightly from orthodox Judaism, if Dr. Burkitt's interpretation of Hegesippus¹ is right, that even at the end of his life the Jews of Jerusalem were uncertain whether or no he regarded Jesus as the

¹ In *Christian Beginnings*. Three lectures by F. C. Burkitt, D.D., University of London Press.

Messiah. The attribution of "Q" to Antioch is perhaps rather an argument from exhaustion of other possibilities than a conclusion from positive evidence. At least an Antiochene origin for the Greek "Q" readily accounts for both its primitive Palestinian characteristics and its use by both Matthew and Luke. In that case it was superseded in its home church by Matthew, which is almost certainly an Antiochene Gospel.

The study of the pre-canonical history of the material in our Gospels will certainly be stimulated by Canon Streeter's book. It is possible that certain "interpolations" in particular families of texts may preserve fragments of local "Gospels" or collections of sayings, partly parallel to the sources which are incorporated in the canonical Gospels, or in some instances possibly even survivals of portions of "Q" or "M" or "L" which for one reason or another were not used by the evangelists. Again, with "Urmarcus" out of the way and the theory that Mark used "Q" discredited, the question of the composition and possible sources of our earliest gospel gains a new interest. Along these lines Synoptic criticism may move cautiously forward. But there is little doubt that the most important line of advance in the immediate future will be by way of a study of the Aramaic lying behind all our Greek material. Wellhausen, Archdeacon Allen, and Dr. Torrey have started us well on this line, and Dr. Burney's *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, if it does not prove its thesis, at least places before us data which are of importance for the Synoptics as well as for John. It is hardly likely that Aramaic scholars will undermine the main conclusions regarding the literary history of the Greek Gospels, but for the study of the pre-canonical history of the material Aramaic is of the utmost importance.

C. HAROLD DODD.

DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS

This Section in our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organisation, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.

Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in one part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust that these pages will not only serve as a clearing-house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in Church and denominational life.

Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.

A FABLE (?)¹

*Given as the charge to the people at an induction to the
pastorate, October 13th, 1924.*

ONCE upon a time there was a church which wondered what was wrong with its pastor. Surely if there was anything wrong with him, it wasn't because the church neglected him. His name was well known in the family circles. He was invited to eat baked potato and creamed beef on sewing day with the Ladies' Aid. The president of the Board of Trustees always took him, the week after Lent, on a fishing trip in the Big Woods. The Country Club gave him a special rate for his golf privileges. He and his wife were always remembered with complimentary tickets from some friend when a perfectly safe play was given at the best theatre. The church presented him with a Dodge car and gave him a gasoline fund. It saw to it that he had his vacations. Yet, in the seventh year of his pastorate, the most fervent of his friends began to wonder over the apparent fact that, in some way or other, their pastor was beginning to lose his grip on things. It was difficult to pin down any one definite complaint, and yet every one began to sense a feeling of limitation, an impression that this dear pastor of theirs was running around in a circle, so to speak. Now this church took its work and itself and its pastor very seriously, and, being a very practical body of people, they did a very practical thing. A doctor in that church called together a number of solid folk and when they had gathered before his living room fire and had discussed the weather and heard the reports of that day's races over the radio, the doctor got up and spoke after this fashion :

¹ This article is reprinted from *The Congregationalist* (Boston, U.S.A.), by the courtesy of the Editor and President Maurer. It needs some adaptation to English conditions, but its fundamental idea is true for churches in all lands.

"My dear friends, I've called you together to discover out of your judgments what in the world is the matter with our pastor. He's the finest fellow in the world, but his life with us is not at present in the best state of health. I have never enjoyed a *post mortem* examination, because you can only do that when there's a corpse to work on. I think that an *antemortem* examination in this case might do the things we are after, and might save a splendid pastor for a fine church."

And, being a modern, well-trained fellow, he said that he wanted the women to speak up first.

Well, they went at it in voluble fashion, for good church members, when it comes to their church and their pastor, and allied topics, have a great many talking points. Mrs. Messenger of the Missionary Society, was sure that the trouble was that the pastor did not preach enough missionary sermons. She went to all of the Board meetings far and near and had frequently brought back reports of crises and challenges, and the pastor had not paid much attention to them. Mrs. Jolly, of the Ladies' Aid, was of the opinion that the pastor was too much interested in raising money for outside enterprises; in fact, she was shocked to discover how much the pastor hated to read, after his prayer, notices which had to do with rummage sales and church fairs. Mr. Singmaster was sure that the pastor would come back if we would support him with a larger musical budget—he had never gotten over discovering that the pastor thought congregational singing as important as a musical number by a famous soloist. Mrs. Fashion was convinced that the pastor did not do enough regular calling—it is true, he was rather faithful to the sick and the needy, but he had often been seen driving right past her house when she had her Whist Club to tea, on his way to rather unimportant people. Mr. Speaker was certain that the mistake lay in paying more attention to the basketball boys than to the prayer circle—in fact, he had changed his opinion of the pastor, though he still admired him, ever since the pastor had rebuked the trustees for fearing that having too many boys in the church rooms was hard on the furniture. Mrs. Busybody was sorry to confess that the pastor's biggest handicap was his wife, who wore dreadfully up-to-date clothes and who gave the impression that she enjoyed having a good time with the best of them.

Well, the discussion was very helpful, but it didn't seem to get anywhere, for what one person saw in the pastor as something to deprecate; was the very thing which some one else thought very important. Some, if pressed on the subject, agreed that the pastor now and then could improve the shade of his ties; others thought that he was too insistent, when calling, to talk about religion; others wished that he would pay more attention to Biblical preaching of the safe sort; others remembered the occasion, two years back, when, in his wife's absence, he had forgotten a dinner engagement. Some thought

his sermons too long ; others wished that he would give more book reviews. But they all agreed that he was a fine fellow.

The doctor heard them out very patiently, and when everybody had had his say, he spoke again as follows :

“ My dear friends, let me put myself in the position of consulting physician. In that capacity, I find it my duty to speak plainly and to the point, for I think the case is indeed very serious. As I look over all the elements entering into this complication, I am bound to conclude that if there is something wrong with our pastor, you and I are at the bottom of the trouble ! ”

That was a bombshell, and, after a flutter of ohs and ahs, there was a shocked, tense silence, so the doctor proceeded :

“ The trouble with our pastor is partly the fact that we of the church don't ask of him the things he is really trained to give. Now here is an example. A lot of you neighbours come to my office to have me look into the state of your health. You know why you come. You want a doctor. So you come to me. I am trained to give helps back to health, to relieve pain, to cure disease. You don't come to me and pay me to discuss politics or exchange gossip. Well, what ought one to use his pastor for ? ”

“ A pastor like ours has given his life, in study and in training and in practice, to make available for all of us the facts and forces of religion. The only valid use of his time is that he may give us helps along the way of an inner life—and probably one trouble is that we do not sufficiently feel that we need what he has to give.

“ Suppose I made a round of calls on sick people and had to discuss with every one of them radio news, the Buick car and what the Packards think about it, Johnny's teeth and Mary's notions about bobbing her hair. How long do you imagine I'd last in the medical profession ? Have you ever thought that the thing that keeps a doctor going is the feeling which he has that he is actually doing something helpful for people who need it ? Well, why don't we treat our pastor that way ?

“ I've heard you all these years. Some of you liked our pastor because he had a nice voice ; you liked the way he parted his hair ; you liked his eyes and his smile ; you found him a mixer and a real fellow ; you liked his fondness for children ; but I know how many of you have kept him at a distance in the things about which he ought to have a right to talk to you.

“ And I imagine I know what is the trouble. He is like an artist's brush that is being used to paint a garage with. He is like a doctor being consulted on how to raise peonies. He is like a lawyer who finds himself paid for his ability to run a lemonade stand at a charity ball. And I think,” and here the doctor straightened up and looked at Deacon Peaceful (the good old man who had been smiling happily all the evening), “ I think I know what is the matter with our pastor. We haven't treated him right. Oh, we've loved him and petted him

and fed him and entertained him, but we haven't used him right. If we are going to save him, we'll have to perform a major operation. We'll have to cut out of the pastorate the worldly appendage. Do that and the pastor will recover speedily and he will give us, more than one can realise, very important things that have to do with our souls."

Here the doctor stopped, with a twinkle in his eye.

The meeting resolved itself into a violent discussion group, the chatter of which rivalled a reception of the Crichton Club at Hotel Billions. Everybody talked at once, but the talk was fruitful. A committee on committees was appointed, designed to conserve the spiritual health of the pastorate, if that could possibly be done.

First, they appointed a "Committee on Heartfelt Conversation." It was a purpose of that committee to see that the pastor was brought into touch with the people who were hungry for the right word. This committee protected the pastor from wasting time with the worldly-minded, the kind who monopolised the conversation and sent him forth exhausted with useless chatter on silly things. It was the purpose of that committee to see whether such worldly folk fell into contrite, teachable ways—then their pastor was called in. And as a result, without his knowing what had happened to him, the pastor began to feel the strength of feeding the bread of life. Though he had been worn by trying to pile into people's lives the husks of worldliness which they had seemed to demand, he now found his time filled with talks about religion, its promises to defeated souls, its hopes for discouraged people, its roseate future for the young dreamers, and he gained in spiritual power.

Another committee was appointed which was called "The Committee on Spiritual Conservation." This committee built for the pastor a beautiful retiring room just off the pulpit, and at the door it planted a sentinel, and thus they gave the pastor, in the few moments before the service began, solitude for inner preparation. And here again was a gain in power, for no more were his final moments distracted by the news that the organist had burned out a switch, or by the reproving reminder that he had forgotten to print the notices of the Jolly Good Fellows, or by the request that he remind the people to pay up their church bills. And this committee encouraged the pastor in his secret wish that there might be more interest in devotional literature, and prayer books and daily meditations greeted him in every home, and now he found supposedly worldly people who before had seemed to think of nothing but golf and dinners and dances and theatres, stepping up to him and saying, "Pastor, I'm fighting temptation; pray for me."

Another committee was appointed—it was the "Pulpit Committee." Its object was to see that the pastor preached the gospel. When city politics fell into evil ways, and the pastor forgot to denounce the evil,

the committee reproved him. Yes, it did. It reminded him that he was here to interpret the ways of God to men, and that if hard things must be said, because the truth was needed, it was his business to say them. It kept him everlastingly busy preaching to the people the good news that corruption in business and politics and personal living need not be, that better things are possible. And after that pulpit committee had made the pastor to understand what was wanted of him, he became a most wonderful preacher, for he felt that he had something to give that people really needed.

There were other committees—the loving critics, who watched the minister's English and kept him from overworking his favourite word, who kept him from preaching on only one theme, who saw to his reading list; the committee which practised what the pastor preached; committees on denominational interest—people who kept the pastor from getting lonely in his denominational jobs; and the humanising committee, whose job it was to keep this pastor at play and to teach him again how to make allowance for the human nature that is in folks.

And the pastor came to a new lease of life, and he grew old in happy service, and pastor and people travelled the years together in spiritual grace and peace.

IRVING MAURER.

THE SACRAMENTAL TREND IN MODERN PROTESTANTISM.

It is a happy circumstance making possible an impartial consideration of our topic that we are born into a day and age that has come to know that sacramentalism is not synonymous with sinfulness. Time was, and that not far distant, when all things sacramental and symbolical were anathema to the "nonconforming" Protestant. Churches became meeting-houses; vestments were "rags of popery;" sacraments were means, not channels, of grace; the Eucharist became a service of remembrance and nothing more; rite and ritual were no longer accounted useful servants of righteousness.

Upon the fact and worth of that antagonism we stay not our thoughts here, save to say that it was no fault of those who took to themselves the name of Protestant that such a state of conflict should abound. For us the significance of that now far-off antagonism is that the memory of the conflict has provided a germinant ground for fear as well as for the increase of faith. Speaking paradoxically it might almost be said that courage is but fear become militant. We overthrow that we may not ourselves be overthrown. When an offensive is carried on to the hour of victory in that hour it is changed to a defensive. When "the battle's fought and won" the spirit of the crusader is changed to a spirit of caution. The danger expelled has to be watched

lest it return, bringing back seven others dangers more harmful than itself. Puritanism sought the expulsion of the sacramental principle from the economy of worship. Nonconformity came to glory in its naked congregationalism. And for their own groups they won the day. Henceforth the Nonconforming bodies took up an attitude of defence against the practices of sacramentalism. All such leanings were accounted a falling away to Rome. Fear was cultivated in the interests of faith.

But movements as well as men cannot live by fear alone ; they must take cognisance of the changing facts. And for us the undeniable facts are that slowly but surely the Nonconforming churches are veering round to the sacramental viewpoint. In the light of a new age men are turning querying eyes to the possibilities inherent in that which their forefathers discarded. Just as the scientist is finding the wealth of radium in a refuse heap, so the Nonconformist is coming to recognise that not all of sacramentalism is of sin. As the Archdeacon of Cheltenham has well said : " With but little change in the outward conduct of their (the Evangelical) services, one sees a new spirit and tone entering into their ministrations when they cease to be afraid or suspicious of what is stigmatised as ' churchiness,' and when they do not shrink from magnifying the Sacraments of the Gospel, the Sacrament of Unity and the Sacrament of Beauty."

Of course, there are those who, like the Kensitites and other ultra Protestants, declare that this increasing tolerance of rite and ritual in Protestantism is the out-cropping of wickedness upon the lethargy of its supineness. To them Puritanism undefiled is power. It is a kindness to them to say that for many this is not so in our day. Puritanism, on its ecclesiastical side, was but a passing phase of a larger and more comprehensive movement. When it had done its specific work its natural end was to lose itself in the larger work of Protestantism.

What that larger work of Protestantism is we cannot, save in large general terms, specifically define as yet. For the genius of Protestantism is that while it knows the end it cannot always tell the way. Protestantism exists for the incoming of a larger Catholicism—" new occasions teach new duties." Changing times have called for new adjustments of itself in the realising of its aspirations. Historically we have the iconoclastic period, then the Evangelical era flowering out in that of social out-reach characteristic of our day, and now increasingly in our time we come upon the sacramental emphasis as a way of spirituality. Our present task is to evaluate the worth of this last emphasis for an onward-going Protestantism.

Remembering the ancient feud of Puritanism and the sensitive attitude created on the part of Nonconformists to all things sacramental, it would be a foolish omission not to take account of the possible evils which lie inherent in sacramentalism. It is hard for the average

Protestant to forget that even if sacramentalism be itself a virtue it is ever attended by the twin sinister shadows of sacramentarianism on the one hand and sacerdotalism on the other. And the Protestant who did not take care that clear distinction be made between the shadow and the substance would be proving false to his heritage. "Once bitten, twice shy" is a proverb of significant meaning for many Protestants in this respect. For this reason the sacramental emphasis has been a plant of slow growth in the Nonconforming churches of our day. And in this fact we find the vindication of the present fact of sacramentalism in their midst. Their present need was found to be greater than their ancient fear.

It is not our task here to trace out the relationship, if any, that exists between the present cult of the æsthetic in Protestantism and the sacramental concept of religion. To have the æsthetic in the sanctuary without making it pay tribute to the sacramental is to be poor while we are thinking we are rich. A mere æstheticism in the sanctuary is an effrontery to true religion. Art for art's sake is nowhere more greatly out of place. Yet it can be said that there is more hope of a misguided æstheticism than of an intolerant Puritanism for the progress of a Protestantism. For sacramentalism ever takes to itself the vesture of beauty. It is a highway of the Eternal. The sacrificial is haloed in glory; the Cross is transfigured in light. And where the sacramental comes to flower and power there also beauty has its perfect work. This is the age-long undying glory of the ancient cathedrals.

Yet for the soul unquickened by high spiritual motive the sacraments lead not to spirituality but to sacramentarianism, and upon the unquickened church the blight of externalism falls like a plague: it becomes a theatre and a poor one at that. The sacraments have become dead instead of being dynamic. As one who is himself a High-churchman has said: "There are those among us who call themselves High-churchmen who are often stuck at a dead level, and one that is rather hopeless. You go into their churches, where you find cross and candles, the inevitable flowers, and the frontals from an ecclesiastical shop. But all means little. Parochialism . . . is only too evident. . . . There is no glorious vision of what the Church of all the ages should do for England through her message and her worship." Here it is that sacramentalism that is mere sacramentarianism becomes involved in mechanics and opposed to morality. It is this which leads many a Protestant to enter the silent sanctuary of the Roman Catholic Church that he may feel the sacramental might of her many symbols only to flee the service when the mechanical priest mumbles through the ritual. It is because of these things that Canon (now Bishop) Barnes could speak of "the unethical sacramentalism" of the Anglo-Catholic movement. However much we look with favour on sacramentalism it is always in order to remember these things.

With the other danger associated with sacramentalism, namely, that of sacerdotalism, we do not need to stay long. The government of any church of the Protestant faith is influenced largely by the prevailing type of political government in the country. Where the spirit of the political institutions is democratic there also will that spirit be reflected in the church life of the people; where it is monarchical or autocratic we can look for a reflection of these things in the corporate life of the church. In the first sacramentalism has room to grow and air to breathe, but in the second we find that often it is narrowed down to sacerdotalism. Religion becomes the prerogative of a high priestly class which lords it over men instead of seeking to serve them. And the end of such a functioning is superstition.

It is well, however, to differentiate carefully between the excrescences of a religion and its essence. And it is our conclusion that the slow acceptance of the sacramental principle in the Protestant churches is evidence that these churches have been doing this. The very presence of the sacramental emphasis in Protestantism is the strongest evidence one could seek to reveal that Protestantism is still subject to the spirit of its own genius. Protestantism is pragmatic as well as Protestant. It has regard for the future as well as for the past. It is not so anchored to the heritage of the past that it cannot go forward at the call of the new. And to one who has studied the psychology of sacramentalism it is not strange that following hard upon the quickening of the social conscience in the Protestant churches there should come the emphasis on the sacramental concept of life. It could not be otherwise unless the social service of the church should run into a barren humanitarianism. Ethical values to persist must be grounded in eternal certainties. Not devoid of truth are the pointed words of Lydia E. Bowler that "the Protestant rejection of special sacraments has resulted in an emptying of the universe of all spiritual meaning." Where the "Communion" is rightly observed we have a sense of the corporate wholeness of the church and the unity of man and God that can be achieved in no other way. As Dr. Gore reminded us as long ago as *Lux Mundi*, "men are lifted out of a miserable individualism, being saved from the weaknesses inherent in the current conceptions of brotherhood by just that of which the Eucharist is the very instrument and perpetual renewal." Just what is the significance of the Eucharist for the believer has been well brought out by Dr. Orchard, when he says that "the Eucharist is the trysting place where our Lord invites us to conscious co-operation with His saving work. Here there is a communion of the Body and Blood of Christ which impels us to the breaking of our bodies for the love of the world, and fills our sluggish hearts with a blood that is restless to shed itself for the sin of mankind." In other words, where sacramentalism abounds social service is related to it as fruit to root. The sacramental act (under whatever rite it be consummated) is itself the supreme act of social service. The social

not sequential to the sacramental in essence ; it only appears so in me. Whence are the words of Paget true, that "through the sacramental acts and services Christianity retains its strong inclusive hold upon life."

It is therefore not surprising to find that where the sacramental concept is held (even sometimes in handicap with sacerdotalism) there would be a keen social conscience. Christian Socialism has found its warmest adherents among this class. Not without significance is the fact that Methodism was the outcome of activity of one who was himself a High-churchman, and it is interesting to recall that Gladstone was also of that "school." The holding of the sacramental principle requires the vesturing of all things in holiness. Therefore are we agreed that "industrial and political life would be transformed if the sacramental idea was lived out consistently. It would be impossible to exploit the necessities of life for private gain, because they themselves would be holy things." Henceforth with such a view nothing can be called common or unclean. Very beautifully has Harry Kemp expressed this in his poem concerning the harvest fields where he sings to "the thousand, thousand dusty men"

The thing you reap is more than wheat,
Is more than bins of yellow grain
For hungry continents to eat.

Tis love that you are reaping there,
Tis life that laughs at its brief span ;
Your harvest is a sacrament
Where God Himself grows one with man.

This then is the high worth of the sacramental concept. It makes of the tangible a highway for truth. The ephemeral becomes the pathway of the Eternal. Æsthetically it vestures all things in the glory of God ; socially it grounds our service in the will of God and not in any whim of man ; philosophically it steers us safely between the Scylla of an absolute materialism and the Charybis of an absolute idealism. That which can do these things should not be too readily scorned. Looking over Nonconformist history it seems to us that this is just what will make up that which is lacking in the content of Protestantism. To do this is to return, strangely enough to the forgotten viewpoint of one who was himself accounted a Puritan, Richard Baxter, when he says : "God is the God of soul and body and must be worshipped by both ; and while they are united the actions of one are helpful to the other as well as due and decent." We grant that sacramentalism may be dangerous ; which also can be said of dynamite. Yet dynamite is accounted useful in its proper place.

FRED SMITH.

THE RELIGIOUS VOCATION OF WOMEN.

THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY is to be congratulated upon its very sound views on the need of a spirit of adventure in our Churches. These views bear repeating, so no apology is made for the following quotations.

"It is a commonplace nowadays to say that Christianity is a great adventure. Do not Congregationalists sometimes forget that their religion *par excellence* stands for faith and venture. We have no creed, believing that the Spirit still reveals new truths to men. . . . This should mean that to us, of all people, is given the joy of exploration, of pioneering, alike in thought and practice. . . . Congregationalism must not be content to use, to maintain, and to improve the paths the fathers have made; there are other roads to be made (and mentally unemployed who could be set to work) and new visions to be seen, from points reached. Here we are constrained to ask, has our denomination the courage to leave the beaten track?"

May not this spirit of "adventure" be very appropriately applied to the difficulties which impede the development of the religious vocation of women in our denomination?

The Congregational Union has shown an evident desire to remove obstacles. The Rules in the Year Book, 1924, for regulating the admission into the Congregational Ministry, expressly state: "These rules do not prohibit the recognition of women ministers who have fulfilled the regulations." (That is *via* one of the recognised training colleges.) At present, however, there are only two women in the official list of Congregational ministers. The difficulties of settlement, and the insufficient remuneration offered to women ministers, naturally act as deterrents. Those who have made the venture and taken the training necessary find the Churches still in the grip of precedent. This makes many afraid to step out of the boat of convention, lest they sink in the difficulties.

Instances of the spirit of "adventure" are not wanting in our denomination. At least *two* of our churches have shown what may be entered in their records as historical proof of their approval of women's ministry—the City Temple invited Miss Royden to become assistant pastor; and the Eccleston Square Congregational Church put their church building at the disposal of the same woman preacher. Yet in spite of these instances, is it not a fact that the majority of our Congregational Churches, while asserting their belief in the equality before God of *every believer*, are still averse to granting women equality of privilege, and equality of opportunity? The *minority* of the Church members—the *men*, are fully represented in ministry and administration, while the *majority*—the women, are with few exceptions *unrepresented*.

What does this lethargy argue? Is it not that the "dead hand of irrational and carefully guarded tradition" is paralysing? Having inherited the prejudices of the past, men and women are content to abide by them. Too often they are without any inspiration from their pastors, who are slow to learn the truth about the ministry of women, and therefore cannot teach it. Many are content with the argument that Christ chose no woman as an apostle, finding that a sufficient precedent. Of such, one would ask: "How do you explain the fact that Christ chose only *Jews* for his Apostles? Should Gentiles be excluded from the ministry?"

Others are bound and tied by the *sex* tradition. From a spiritual standpoint, does not the Church lay too much stress upon the *differences* between men and women, and not enough emphasis on their common humanity? The distinction of male and female was given for a special purpose, and, apart from that, sex is of minor importance. The *spiritual* must come before the *sexual*. The first is *eternal*, the last is *transitory*. Christ taught that sex is for *time* only. "In heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage."

In these days of science, it cannot be proved that woman is an inferior creation, so the Church endeavours to pile the inferiority on her soul. The Apostolic teaching that "in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female" should prevent the continuance of this bar of sex being applied to spiritual vocation.

While perhaps the majority of women members in our Churches are content with the *status quo*, there is a growing minority of educated women who are dissatisfied with the *obiter dicta* of men of the past and present. They look to *Christ* as their authority. They find no hint of sex distinction in His words or deeds. He recognised women as half of humanity and revealed some of His profoundest truths to them.

In *The Modern Use of the Bible* Dr. Fosdick writes:

"If any one protests that Jesus does not give us rules and regulations by which in every situation we may know what He would have us do, that He furnishes no dictionary of conduct giving us a maxim for each contingency, let us be thankful that this is true. Had He written a mere Levitical code adapted to His age, the changed circumstances of our modern times long since would have outlawed most of it." To no department of service is this quotation more applicable than to the religious vocation of women.

In the reconstruction of spiritual life there is room—yes, more than room—there is need for co-operation between men and women. A bird with one wing bound cannot rise to any height, so the Church cannot enter upon its God-ordained flight until it frees that other wing—woman—tied and bound by tradition and prejudice.

Will not the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY use its powers to arouse the spirit of "adventure" to this end in its readers; and they in

their turn in the members of their churches of the Congregational order. The topic, in all its ramifications, might be thrown open for discussion in its pages.

FRANCES S. HALLOWES.

OUR CHURCH FURNITURE AND PUBLIC WORSHIP.

DURING the past twenty-five or thirty years Nonconformity has done considerable re-furnishing and some striking changes are still taking place. It has almost entirely ceased to employ the only kind of architecture particularly suitable for worship and feels free to use any material and any scheme for furnishing. Many proudly speak of their "Halls", with "Tip-up Chairs"—which are generally accompanied by tip-down aisles, for in these buildings one is no longer on a level with his brother man as he should be in God's house, where there can be no respect of person, as the back seats are elevated and the pulpit has its foundations in the lowest parts. Is this only a chance structural alteration or are the tones and tempers of men's lives revealed here as they are in all else they do? There is no upward woven way of crimson and blue leading to the altar which still stands for consecration, but a certain kind of brown linoleum incased in a zig-zag reddish-yellow border is laid down the aisle. The lighting is not suggestive of the sacred Shekinah Fire, but is designed and regulated by the twin gods Osmium and Tungsten, in whose worship economy of current becomes the first article of the creed.

Reflection here reveals two important facts. First, that in certain ways religion is laying her consecrating hand upon the things of this world. Life everywhere is more in touch with religion than ever before and very many material agencies are feeling the impress of religion. Her spreading palm is resting now here, then there, until men are beginning to hope that ere long upon the breast bells of the fieriest war-steed will be written "Holiness unto the Lord."

But to realise that men deliberately prefer to sit listening to the voice of religion in a theatre chair rather than in a carved oak pew is to have the peculiarities of the times pretty vividly brought before one; that some like to feel they can get their boots soled and heeled on one side of the entrance to their seat of worship, and can buy chocolates and cigarettes on the other, requires not a little patience to understand the psychology of a large strata of our society. But the point is that men instinctively know that religion must touch life, and surely this is but a crude display of that feeling. Not the religion of the cloistered virtue merely, but a still humaner, healthier form which helps men in the struggle of their fateful careers is demanded by whole

esses of men and women in this trying hour of applying Christian principles to every-day life.

And be this said, the pioneers of this great movement for bringing religion close up to the experiences of men have done a service of unique moral worth. In many ways they have revived the life of the Church and shown her her social obligations and spoken her social Gospel to millions. They have made the often vague and uncertain things very real and definite and contributed a new spirit of sacrificial nature which has put to shame the indolent and self-righteous in the Courts of the Lord. These pioneers have been found worthy of doing great things in a difficult time, and they have left their mark on the community to which they have ministered. But they would be the first to observe that their movement cannot express the beginning and end of all religious aspiration. While every city and large town in our land show the need of genuine evangelical missionary enterprise they also reveal the need of a solid Church life behind to endorse and maintain such enterprise, and, did we understand our life aright, this second need at the moment is more acute than the former.

The other fact to notice is that while religion is laying her consecrating hand upon the things of the world, the world in turn is fast laying its secular grip upon the Church. There is a very real danger of the Church being so moulded by the world that she will cease to be a contrast to it. The Church has always performed her greatest ministry for the people when her life has been most distinct from the life of the world, and not when her life has sunk to its level.

Because men are saved by meeting the challenge of real idealism and real faith this secular grip ought to be given careful consideration. It is stealing the ministry of art from our worship. What is the meaning of art, what is the ministry of art, if such are not found in religion? And if these are to be found in religion, then only through worship can they find their full expression. But when every possible and charitable allowance is made it must be admitted that there is a grave possibility of many Nonconformist churches becoming too crude in their conduct of worship to meet the aesthetic taste and spiritual desires of the worshippers. Unhesitatingly, it may be thoughtlessly, Ruskin, Burne-Jones, Morris and others like them are passed over as though they had contributed nothing to our knowledge or experience. The modern Church will not gain in strength or popularity by ceasing to emphasise spiritual things. The soul gains renewed health by meeting in the hallowed place an experience that is totally different from what is found outside. A change of atmosphere and of action is as essential for the good health of the spirit as of the body. This requires a Church service which will do men and women good, and to that end a decided lift into the spiritual and ethereal is the first essential.

This secular grip upon the Church is also restraining us from dedicating the highest craftsmanship to the service of public worship. Seldom do any of our present churches remind us that the sublime thought, the finest accomplishment, demanding the last ounce of strength, was put forth in the building and completing of the Sanctuary. We have fallen into the world's way of "letting the job to the lowest tender," and the contractor does the work pretty much as he likes. But this way does not help to make the church precious to us. Our churches ought never to be finished, and they should be designed to this end and the people continually called upon at the point of sacrifice to dedicate some further object upon which the genius of man has spent itself. If men can be persuaded to do their utter best for God inside the church they will do their bit in the world. It is largely a matter of having a focussing point for one's endeavours—a much needed device to-day.

This dedication of craftsmanship should be pressed for the sake of posterity. What will present-day Nonconformity leave to the coming generations? It is a bad sign that so many of our churches can of all buildings be most easily made into cinemas or warehouses. Religion and all associated with worship should be of such a distinctive order that the man of the world can do nothing with them. Things that are easily convertible are not generally durable, and that which costs little effort and time seldom bears eternal features. Unless there is a change the children of Nonconformity may have to build again the walls of Zion.

Lastly, the world's hold upon the Church is causing everything specifically sacred to exist in an atmosphere too secular to keep our religion and worship as purely spiritual as they should be kept. The deeper quests of the spirit are too often going unanswered and many ask whether Church attendance is worth while—and Church going after all is worth while only when something happens within the worshipper.

The place and part of the merely pleasurable whether in recreation or social intercourse is limited, and how much more ought it to be limited in the realm of worship. To do things simply because people like them to be done is not to worship. To allow young irresponsible and old immovables to arrange a service so that they can derive passing pleasure by having their own particular wishes gratified is entirely to miss the meaning of being assembled together in God's house. Here surely a daring policy of readjustment and consecration ought to be pursued at any cost. For the Church to be a Church at all it must be our sanctuary because it is God's house, His pavilion because it is our refuge, and our Secret Place because it is under the Shadow of the Almighty.

A. G. ELDRIDGE.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN AUSTRALIA.

CHURCH life in Australia does not differ materially from the work in England. The minister of a city church in Sydney, Adelaide, Brisbane, Hobart, Melbourne, or Perth, has almost precisely the same routine, the same problems, and the same social and ecclesiastical conditions as the pastor of a Congregational Church in Lincoln, Birmingham or Manchester. Perhaps the most obvious differences are our sunnier climate, which makes for more leisure-time spent in the open-air; and the absence of the more acute problems of destitution which, unhappily, still exist in Britain.

On Sunday the Australian minister faces a congregation which is similar in almost every respect to those of the homeland. Our church buildings, our rules and discipline, and the order of our services are almost identical with those of the land of our origin. In spite of our climatic invitation to spend Sunday in the surf, on the beach, or in the bush (and Australian coast scenery is amazingly beautiful) much the same proportion of the population attends church as in the lands under greyer skies. In a general way, therefore, our church life, initiated and nurtured by people of British birth and derivation, tends to run on quite orthodox and familiar lines. At present Australia has not developed anything that could be called "Australian" Congregationalism. In usage, outlook and spirit our Church life is one with the Mother Church.

II. In historic development too Congregationalism has followed the same general lines of evolution as the Church at home. From 1850 to 1900 our Church life was dominated by a few amazingly powerful and outstanding men. Dr. Llewellyn Bevan, Dr. J. G. Fraser, A. J. Jeffries, Rev. G. Campbell, Rev. George Clark, of Tasmania, and A. T. Roseby, were giants. Possessed of unusual intellectual and rhetorical gifts, they were the Parkers, Berrys, Halls and Halleys of Australian Congregationalism. This meant, among other things, that our denominationalism was of the "Individualist Independent" order. Most of these older men maintained pastorates of what we could now consider dangerous length, ranging as they did from twenty to fifty years. In most cases their churches were both large and prosperous, yet some of these pulpit princes lived to see their churches left derelict and "down-town," and their personal influence wane. Nowadays such personalities are rare. I am convinced that the average ministerial ability and devotion are higher to-day than in the past, but we no longer produce giants of the Victorian stamp. As we did they would not hold the same unchallenged individual authority in denominational affairs. Our whole outlook has changed. The isolation of early Independency has gone. It had its strength and its weakness. To-day our vision is not of churches,

but of a world-wide Congregational Church. The concept of union within our own borders has grown. Unions, which in the last century were apt to be dry skeletons, have put on flesh. The country minister living a hundred miles away from a town, is now made to feel that he is a part of a vital organism. The down-town and sub-city churches are no longer callously left to struggle unaided against overwhelming odds, and die an ignominious death by absorption into bacon-factories and picture-palaces. While the aided church still retains, almost unimpaired, its local autonomy, and stronger churches their entire independence of outside control, the conviction is now firmly implanted that we are all one Church and that we shall stand or fall not as separate units, but as a whole. A further benefit of this Union organisation is the growth of Sustentation and Provident Funds, some of which are now of quite useful capital amounts.

III. Ministerial status in the Commonwealth might at one time have been challenged in certain directions. In a new land where sparse population is scattered over vast distances, no hard and fast educational standard could be fixed for applicants eager to engage in evangelising work. Some men with few academic qualifications, but with a passion for souls and seized with the urgency of the Gospel, were permitted to enter the ministerial ranks. Some of these were Australian born, others were sent out by the Colonial Missionary Society. Many of them did work of high value. If, however, there is any lingering suspicion in the ranks at home that the Australian ministry is inferior or composed of odds and ends, let it be dismissed at once. Entrance to the ministry is as jealously guarded here as in England. The training given in our colleges is sound, thorough and prolonged. It so happens that our three leading Colleges are at present under the guidance of men trained in England: the names of Principal Thatcher, Principal Griffith, and Principal Kiek are sufficient guarantee, to those who are in a position to judge, that the status of the Australian ministry is not likely to suffer by comparison with that of other lands.

Australian Congregationalists are proud of the historic continuity, the brave witness and the solid achievements of the Mother Church, and are eager to maintain the same witness in this new continent peopled by men and women of British stock.

JEFFREY BROWN.

BOOKS ON "THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY."

It is much easier to ask for "a list of books on the new psychology" than to provide one. If the enquirer is about to begin the study his needs are altogether different from those of one who has already a foundation of knowledge through University or College lectures or private reading. In either case one can only choose from the hundreds of books that have been published during the last decade and suggest that the student would do well to watch the section of "Current Literature" in our pages in the hands of Dr. Selbie, where most of the new books on the subject are treated.

The beginner could not do better than read some smaller books, such as Barry, *Christianity and the New Psychology* (5s.), Bishop-Harman, *Religion and the New Psychology* (2s. 6d.), Hudson, *Recent Psychology and the Christian Religion* (3s. 6d.), McKenzie, *Modern Psychology and the Achievement of Christian Personality* (2s. 6d.), Pym, *Psychology and the Christian Life* (s. 6d.). In order to get an idea of the Continental psychoanalysts he could read Wittels' *Sigmund Freud* (10s. 6d.).

These could be followed by Dr. Crichton Miller's books for the teacher, parent and preacher (6s. each), Dr. Hadfield's *Psychology and Morals* (s.) and Professor J. W. Buckham's *Personality and Psychology* (\$1.75). A little book of far greater range and value than its title suggests is Hart's *The Psychology of Insanity* (2s.).

For the beginning of serious study no better books can be found than Hobhouse, *Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* (7s. 6d.), Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion* (12s. 6d.), and Tansley, *The New Psychology and its relation to life* (10s. 6d.).

Then, since life is short, our student will probably begin to specialise, and to follow his tastes. Those mainly interested in the "suggestion" side of the work will read Brown, *Mental Analysis and Suggestion* (3s. 6d.), Audouin, *Suggestion and Auto-suggestion* (10s. 6d.) and the more popular books written by Coué or describing his work (Brooks and Charles). Students of the New Testament will be interested in Micklem's *Miracles and the New Psychology* (7s. 6d.).

On the social side are Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (8s. 6d.), McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (8s. 6d.) and the writings of L. T. Hobhouse.

Books that cannot be overlooked, though they are written from very different points of view are: Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious* (25s.), Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness* (12s.) and Underhill, *The Life of the Spirit and the Life of Today* (7s. 6d.). This will lead the way to an attack on the psychological writers of the Continent. Pfister's *The Psycho Analytic Method* (25s.) is a good book to tackle at the beginning (for an interesting account of Pfister, see Mr. Blackshaw's article, CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, 1916, 216). For Freud there is available in English *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis* (18s.), *The Interpretation of Dreams* (15s.) and *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (12s. 6d.); and of Jung, in addition to the work mentioned, *Analytic Psychology* (25s.). The writings of Ernest Jones, the leading English follower of Freud, should then be studied, while criticisms of Freud are to be found in Rivers's *Instinct and the Unconscious* (15s.) and *Conflict and Dream* (12s. 6d.).

This list is offered with keen consciousness of its imperfections, but it will at any rate suggest lines on which students might begin.

EDITOR.

FOREIGN REVIEWS AND IMPRESSIONS.

THE NOVELIST AS PREACHER

It is about Gustav Frenssen that we propose to write. Recently the Rev. T. F. Kinloch, of Wolverhampton, has made a translation of twelve of the *Dorfpredigten* under the title: *Village Sermons by a Novelist* (Cambridge: Heffer. 4s.). Frenssen himself supplies a short preface, and Mr. Kinloch has written an introduction which gives an excellent account of Frenssen's life and writings. This volume should appeal especially to ministers. The type of sermon is different from that traditional in this country, but it is hoped that none of us are so wedded to our own methods that we cannot learn from other people's.

The volume should appeal also to those readers of contemporary fiction who do not confine themselves to novels produced in this country. It is very important to read French and German novels if we want to understand modern France and Germany. In this connexion no one is more important than Frenssen. It is quite true that the scene of most of his stories is West Holstein—the Dithmarsch—and most of the characters are men and women of this district. Yet his novels, and especially the last—*Der Pastor von Poggsee*—give one an extraordinary insight into the spirit and temper of modern Germany.

When we speak of the novelist as preacher we do not mean the novelist who preaches in his novels, but the novelist who is or has been a preacher. Frenssen was a Lutheran minister in the little village of Hemme for over ten years. It was while he was minister here that he wrote his first stories. Here he wrote *Jörn Uhl*, which made him famous. But his congregation did not appreciate his fame. There were rarely more than twenty. When he first went to Hemme there were not more than five people who came to the services of the church (cf. *Grübeleien*, p. 274). Public worship had almost died out. But the people who did come objected to being elbowed out of their pews by the curious literary pilgrims who came from all parts of the country to see and hear the man who had so touched the heart of Germany, and the piles of letters the village postman brought became almost a scandal in the simple hamlet. Frenssen does not preach in his novels, though one of them, *Der Pastor von Poggsee*, contains a whole sermon, and another, *Hilligenlei*, contains a remarkable life of Christ. He tells us in *Grübeleien* that if there is a "Tendenz" in his books it is that life is a serious and a difficult thing.

The novels are valuable when considered in relation to the sermons, as well as for their own intrinsic merit. They reconstruct for us not only Frenssen's congregation, but also his parish and the conditions of parochial life and work. A German minister thinks more in the terms of his parish than of his congregation. His ministry is more predominantly domestic than public. Baptisms, Confirmations, Weddings, Funerals, have, as is obvious, a social and a domestic aspect. People who rarely if ever go to church, none the less, at various crises in their lives, come into direct contact with the minister. We see in the *Pastor of Poggsee* an indefatigable pastor, who is really conscious of having a parish. Whether people come to church or not he is their servant, adviser and friend. They come to him in all circumstances and he is ever ready to help them. Nothing could give us a more vivid picture of conditions in a German country parish during and after the war than this book. All through, the activities of the minister are unceasing, and, though at times his faith in God and in man almost fails

na, he remains the one strong brave hopeful influence when everything is in confusion and all men are in a state of bewilderment and despair. The loss of his two sons, while it fills him with anguish, fills him with even greater sympathy for his bereaved and sorrowing parishioners.

Incidentally the novels have much that is interesting to tell us about the conditions of ministerial and parochial life in Holstein. This province, like the other provinces annexed by Prussia since 1864, retained its ecclesiastical independence, so that the Prussian government had no control over its church affairs. Hence many local and ancient customs and privileges survived that are reflected in *Jörn Uhl* and the *Pastor of Poggsee*. Attached to a great many of the parsonages are fields which the pastor farms. This supplements his small income and secures at any rate daily bread. In the neighbouring minister, called "Kong Christian" by his fellow students at the University, you see the claims of the farmer and the minister conflicting. He spends too much time in the fields and not enough in the parish or in the study. He loses his freshness and his inspiration and degenerates into a rather dull and stupid peasant. Frenssen draws living portraits of the church officers—the sexton, the secretary, the elders, the committee, the architect. One of his most interesting pictures is that of the election of a minister in Holstein. The Bishop recommends Adam Barfood—the hero of the book and one of the candidates—to read over the "Wahlpredigt" (the election sermon) to his wife before he preaches it. Very sound advice, we think, on one condition, viz., that his wife had the mind and will to criticise it. Some women adore their husbands too much to be good critics. We see Adam toiling over the sermon, all one morning literally wallowing in the original Greek text. Then, finally throwing aside all learned "views" found in books, he lays hold of Christ just as He was and as He appeared among men. While he is helping Gude, his wife, to peel the potatoes for dinner, he speaks to her about the four divisions of the sermon. But she says at once that nobody in the village could keep four divisions in mind at the same time. Then the great day of the "Wahl" comes. Frenssen describes the three candidates, who all appear on the scene at the same time. They all had to preach the same text, which was given them beforehand. But Adam, who comes third, sat outside until his turn came in order not to confuse his competitors; but he could hear through the window what they said. One of the candidates drew from a church member the comment: "White bread, but small and without strength; light and dry and not for men who have to work hard and often freeze at their work."

In the *Grübeleien* Frenssen gives an account of how he made his sermons. Three years before, he says, they were nothing but artificial, toilsome, and over-subtle in thought; but now sermon-making has become fiery work. First he chose a passage; then let it loose or free in the life of the time, in the life of the village. The text sauntered up and down the village street once or twice with discriminating, meditating eyes. It got used to the village, settled itself at home there. The next morning he set to work in his shirt-sleeves, not to speak, with strong purpose to speak to individual men. Perhaps an entirely new introduction would be necessary. But his main aim was to give a living message, in close relation with the lives of the people he addressed. He never forgot his audience in the composition of his sermons. It is this that gives them such simplicity and such power. In many respects we may say that Kai Jans in *Hilligenlei* and Adam Barfood in the *Pastor of Poggsee* contain elements of self-portraiture. And when Adam says: "I will not utter a word that does not spring from my heart and from my own honest belief," he gives expression to a spirit that breathes through the *Wahlpredigten*.

Before returning to the sermons reference must be made to two other books, from one of which I have already quoted. The *Grübeleien* (Meditations) is most important for understanding Frenssen. It was published in 1922, though it was commenced in his first year as pastor of Hemme, 1890. Mr. Kinloch compares it with Pascal's *Pensées*, and quite rightly. It contains meditations on religion, politics, art, literature and it is from this book that we learn of Frenssen's mental struggles while he was a minister—struggles the existence of which would hardly be realised from the sermons, for he never took his doubts and his difficulties into the pulpit. He always gave a positive message, a message full of comfort and of hope. From this book may be gathered the story of his own mental development and the chief reasons that led him at last to give up the pulpit for literature. We shall refer to this book again later.

The other book is the *Briefe aus America* (Letters from America, 1923) which, as far as we are aware, is his latest book. Frenssen was sent to America to get into touch with the German-Americans in order to secure their interest and help in the feeding of German children after the war. He travelled all over the country from New York to San Francisco, and these are the letters sent home during his long journeys. They are very interesting, and contain much keen criticism and many shrewd observations on what he heard and saw in the United States. His was a difficult position and he had to exercise great tact, especially in his public utterances. There was a good deal of hostility and still more of indifference to the fate of Germany in the circles in which he moved. But on the whole he received a friendly welcome. The character of the man comes out in these letters with special distinctness. He knew nothing of fear, and spoke out his conviction of the real greatness of Germany even in defeat. He says: "I have never in my life feared anything" (p. 63). Yet there is something almost pathetic in his dread of the long journeys, and in his longing for his beloved Barlt. He tries to imagine his wife standing on the Quay at Hamburg or Bremen. But he must wait until he is actually on board ship before he can believe that this is possible. He will actually doubt it until the last night before the German coast is sighted. Then he will not be able to sleep. "But this is inevitable to a man who has seldom travelled during his life" (p. 163). The *Letters* contain many reflections on politics, and especially on international affairs. All through there is a constant defence of Germany and a repudiation of the charge that she alone was responsible for the war. She shares a measure of guilt with the other nations. We learn from the *Letters* (p. 143), that Frenssen belonged to the party of Friedrich Naumann and that he advocated a Democratic Empire; but, while sentimentally attached to the Imperial family, he realised the impossibility of uniting Germany under the flag of the Hohenzollerns. Adam says in the *Pastor von Poggsee*: "I have been from my youth a disciple of Fr. Naumann. I have always been a democrat for I have always believed in mankind and in individual men" (p. 469). His chief criticism of the Hohenzollern system of government was that it had resisted the will of the people and had brought about that division in the nation that had meant weakness and eventual disaster. He maintains that the position of Germany has determined its history, its problems and its duties. Among the last is the great task of uniting the peoples of Europe, not by its sword, but by the strength of its spirit and its industry. His pride in Germany is unflinching. Someone said to him: "You are like General Grant," He said: "I am a German; and we Germans also have General Grants, a whole number of them."

In the technique of sermon making, these sermons have much to teach

us. Frenssen never begins with a text. His first efforts are to establish a point of contact with his audience. He usually does this by describing something that has happened during the previous week or something that is perfectly familiar to his audience. The elements often provide this. Sea and wind and weather are grim realities in the Dithmarsch. Sometimes he falls back on the ancient lore of the district; legends and stories that go back almost to pagan times. Sometimes it is a social event in which his congregation has participated. He thus leads up to a theme, not a text. Frenssen usually avoids the unscientific method of preaching from a snippet or fragment of scripture. He takes a passage, an incident, a parable, a theme, and then unfolds it and brings it into relation with the actual lives of his hearers. In the original text the sermons follow the Christian year pretty closely. The social life of the parish was bound up with this. Frenssen never seems to flounder about in search of themes: they come naturally and easily. At the same time he admits, what many of us would admit: "It is impossible for a preacher year after year to make sixty new *good* sermons. It is too much for the mental and spiritual power of a man. Not even Goethe could have done it. Therefore I have borrowed a sermon to-day." We must all admire the candour of this. There are times when it is impossible for us to preach a *good* sermon. Provided we are honest about it, Frenssen's method might with advantage be adopted. You will find that he preached most often from the first three Gospels. The human life of Jesus appealed most to him. Perhaps the best key to the theology of the sermons is to be found in the "Life of the Saviour" which is Kai Jans' last will and testament in *Hilligenlei*. *Hilligenlei* means "Holyland" and the various characters described in it are searching for "Holyland." This gives the story its epic quality. But I am not concerned with this now. Kai Jans, after many wanderings in many lands, after much speculation and much suffering, finds "Holyland" to be the place where the spirit of Jesus dwells. It may even be in *Hilligenlei*, the humble remote insignificant village of his birth, with its ordinary commonplace inhabitants. But the Jesus of Kai Jans' hopes is the Jesus of the first three Gospels.

Mr. Kinloch in his introduction to the *Village Sermons* gives an admirable analysis of Frenssen's attitude to formal Church doctrine. To this I must refer my readers. He is a modernist not because he is in any special sense a student and a critic. Doctrine left him cold. But Homer and Goethe stirred the depths in him. He admits quite frankly in the *Grübeleien* (p. 89) that the Christianity of Paul was to him strange, unimportant and unessential. In his view Paul's was not a healthy, sound nature. He was too subjective and is to be compared, not with Jesus, Homer, and Goethe, but with Augustine, Calvin, and Tolstoi (p. 188). It was from the first three Gospels that Frenssen drew his inspiration. He is at home here. The sermons are full of passionate earnestness, but they are always simple, clear, sane, undogmatic. I like Mr. Kinloch's selection very much. My only regret is that for reasons of space he has only been able to give us twelve out of the sixty-one in the collected edition. I wish he could have included the New Year's sermon on "We are in God's hands," with its four excellent divisions: Everything has its time, God is the Lord of time, Christ is the turning point of time, the Holy Spirit is the Zeitgeist. But it may be said that not a single one of these sermons fails in its purpose. They are the true, direct and inspiring utterances of a man with a noble heart and a great mind.

At the heart of all Frenssen's novels and all his sermons is a faith that life is a good thing and that goodness and righteousness somehow rule

the universe. He does not pretend to understand this. Reverence before the eternal mysteries, and before the secrets that lie behind the world and the soul, defines his attitude. Mr. Kinloch sums up the main burden of his message as follows: (1) The gospel is glad tidings. The divine answer to man's wretchedness and misery, to all his yearnings after better things, is Jesus Christ. (2) The second note is faith. Above all others Jesus placed His trust in God. He believed in man and his future. (3) Christ is the incarnation of love and zeal. Frenssen is never tired of speaking about this. (4) No one has ever loved God as Jesus loved Him, and no one has ever loved man as Jesus loved him. The fiery zeal of Christ attracted him. To throw one's whole energy into the struggle for right was the task and the duty of every Christian.

We conclude by saying that the *Village Sermons* provide an admirable introduction to a great writer. Holstein, where Frenssen has spent almost all his life, is not an unliberal part of Germany, and the Theological Faculty of Kiel, the university of the province, especially when Baumgarten taught there, was known for its liberal sympathies. Still it was perhaps inevitable that *Hilligenlei* should arouse suspicion. Frenssen elected to leave the pulpit and devote himself to literature, just as Naumann left the pulpit and devoted himself to politics. Many have regretted this, but his public, from being a handful of village rustics, now embraces thousands in many lands. And it may be added that many who had been estranged from Christianity by its dogmatic presentation have been won back by the teaching and the influence of the novelist-preacher. His career has many points of similarity with that of George MacDonald. Both were noble-hearted men.

W. BLACKSHAW.

Di una possibile futura religione. By ALESSANDRO COSTA. Turin: Fratelli Bocca. Lire 9.

Verso una nuova mistica. By GUIDO MANACORDA. Bologna: N. Zanichelli. Lire 16.

When reading books written in the mental atmosphere of a Latin and Catholic country, the English reader is always struck by the very different angle from which the problems of life are contemplated. This is especially true when we come to speak of religion. It is here that the profound divergence between the northern and southern sections of the European culture-group intrudes itself most insistently on our notice. And this is but natural; for it is in matters of religious thought and life that the cake of custom, to employ Bagehot's favourite phrase, influences individual action most continuously and completely. Custom can be traced to historical causes; Merrie England becomes in three centuries a "nation of shopkeepers," and we can see the change taking place. The cake of custom which forms the starting point for the thought of every individual in a given country at a given time can thus be understood, or at any rate partly appreciated, by studying the preceding history of that country and the movements of thought which have moulded that history. It is perhaps useful for us, even though the process be mentally disturbing, to make an effort sometimes to look at religious problems through the eyes of those whose training and environment have differed from our own. But it is one thing to appreciate the point of view of a modern English Anglo- or Roman Catholic living, after all, in a culture-group whose mentality is the result of more than two centuries of Protestantism, and quite another to look through the eyes of a real Latin, born and nurtured in an atmosphere of age-old Catholic culture. Behind

the two books which have been chosen for review we have minds of exactly this texture. Both our authors are free-thinkers, in the sense that both have definitely severed all connexions with the Catholic organisation ; on the other hand both are profoundly devout minds, men of deep, and at times pathetic, religious faith. It is surely of more than passing interest to learn something of the way in which religious problems present themselves to such thinkers, of whom there is in Italy a small but increasing number. A small number, because for the vast mass of the Latin peoples religion is, of course, absolutely identical with the Roman Church ; to be a member of that church is to be religious, to have done with that church is to have done with religion. It requires an exceptionally robust mind even to conceive the idea that a man may be religious and yet not a Catholic. He might, of course, theoretically, become a Protestant, but even the native Waldensian Church is a very small body, its gatherings hardly such as a cultured person would be likely to associate himself with, and as for the little communities subsidised by English or American money—one might as well become a Jew ! A person who has already rejected the dogmatic system of Rome and has cut himself loose on intellectual grounds from the great society with which he and all his dear ones have so many intimate ties of memory and affection, is scarcely likely to accept the somewhat stiff and primitive, and to him equally irrational, dogmas of the little heretical Protestant conventicle—whose attenders are mostly simple devout working-people.

What direction, then, will the mind of such a man take ? There is no religious body with which he has any affinities. And indeed the very existence of a plurality of religious associations is to him something repulsive and barely comprehensible. His only real alternative to Catholicism is to become a religious free-lance. Such are both our authors. Each has a strong and distinct individuality, and it is not surprising that they arrive at very different results in their attempts to mark out the lines on which religious faith can exist without contradicting the facts of modern society and our present knowledge of the world in which we live. To show that religious faith is still possible and essential, though Catholicism is not, is the task which each has attempted. Whether that faith can be comprehended in such a way as to be continuous with Christianity is a question which neither writer feels himself competent either to affirm or to deny. Neither would wish to cut the connexion if it be possible to maintain it, for neither falls into the error, almost universal, as we have said, in their country, of identifying Christianity with the Catholic system.

What are the historical movements of thought which have produced the mental environment of free religious investigation in Italy to-day ? As in all European countries a number of different influences are distinguishable in the ferment of nineteenth century ideas, but in conjunction with the grave political changes of the *Risorgimento* these have been in Italy even more active than elsewhere. One of the most striking of these influences is that initiated at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the Neapolitan philosopher and sociologist, Giambattista Vico. Vico was, in fact, the originator of sociology as we know it, namely the scientific study of human societies in their origins and growth, considered as organic bodies, and of the social relations, considered as natural developments, of the members within such groups. His work started a current of thought which is seen again in such writings as those of Lombroso, to whose industry the modern science of criminology, as the study of certain pathological aspects of society, really owes its birth. It is thus natural that the Italian religious thinker should seek first of all to correlate his faith with known facts as to the nature of human society, and with this the chapter titles of Signore Manacorda's

book agree. In his semi-philosophic *Towards a New Mysticism*, which we are here reviewing, he touches on the connexion of religious faith, not only with art and science, but also with moral conduct, with the nature of the state, and with social and economic life. That it has, and must have, definite implications in all these regards he is perfectly clear. His book is an effort to restate the essentials of religious experience in such a way as not only not to conflict with the facts of the world of to-day, but to go farther, and to demonstrate that religion is the one and vital force which can inspire and produce a sane and healthy life in the individual as a member of the community and in the community itself in all its aspects and activities.

Another important line of thought which deeply colours all literary and philosophical discussion in modern Italy is that which concerns itself with political theory and practice. There is no doubt that the revival of Dante studies which has been so prominent a feature of the nineteenth century was directly connected with the movements which led to the creation of a united Italy under Victor Emmanuel I and Cavour. Dante, as is well known, owed much of his political philosophy to Virgil, and Virgil was the great preacher of Roman imperialism as the guarantee of peace, order and happiness in the world. The return to Dante and the intensive study, not only of the *Commedia*, but of his minor works, especially the *De Monarchia*, impressed the minds of thinking Italians with the idea of unity, political and national, as an absolutely essential pre-requisite to the attainment of good government, moral integrity, security and spiritual development. Italian nationalism has thus had a philosophical and even a literary quality combined with an unselfish idealism on the part of its noblest supporters, which is lacking amongst ourselves, where institutions rather grow as expressions of moral character than form themselves according to preconceived ideals. The leaders of the Carbonari in the '30's were deeply religious men, although many of them had cut themselves off from authoritative religion, that is, from Catholicism. Silvio Pellico, the prisoner of the Spielberg, is a classical example of this. Although he returned to Catholicism, he was never a Catholic in a dogmatic or hierarchical sense. His return was not a submission to authority, but a real conversion, through his study of Dante and sympathy with and appreciation of his fellow-men. It was a re-association, in love and humility, with the great body of those who believe in the unseen and mystic life behind appearances, and live in this belief.

The same spirit is clear in the great liberators of twenty years later, in Garibaldi, in his chaplain Ugo Bassi, in Mazzini himself. But for all these a united Italy formed the utmost horizon of practical politics. Above all, it was the supreme, unselfish, yet fiery patriotism of Dante that inspired them. The pathetic loyalty of some amongst them to the Catholic Church as they conceived her met with no response from the ecclesiastical controllers of her outward organisation, who maintained a sullen opposition to the political movements inspired by such deeply religious ideals. Signore Costa, in his *Concerning a Possible Future Religion*, says plainly, in speaking of the post-Renaissance period: "If later on one is able to record great disinterested actions and noble enthusiasms, these took place outside the Christian fold and in spite of the Roman Church; as for example the political reconstitution of Italy." Free religious thought then, during the last century in Italy, has been intimately associated with political idealism, whilst within the official Church there has been moral stagnation and political indifference, or more frequently, reaction. It is indeed to secular literature rather than to the official clergy that we must go if we wish to understand the development of religious thought in modern Italy, from the dramas of Metastasio, from his exquisite lyric on the meaning of "our native land"—*che cosa è la patria?*—

to that exotic genius, poor crippled Leopardi, who has so powerfully affected his own country, and who represents, amongst other things, the solvent of Schopenhauerian pessimism in a characteristically Italian dress.

When the unification had been accomplished, the work of the idealists was finished, and with the tragically premature death of Cavour the new government fell into the hands of men of an entirely different temper, often opportunists and interested persons, so that from the '70's onwards religious idealism has less and less expressed itself in practical politics. Perhaps the most striking school of later idealist thought has been that which gathered round the dominating personality of Carducci in Bologna. From his chair in the university there Carducci spread his philosophy, a philosophy which, although it was indebted to Nietzsche on the one hand, and possibly not uninfluenced by Treitschke on the other, became definitely the inspiration of those who forced Italy to enter the late war against the German powers. Carducci, like Nietzsche, was deliberately anti-Christian, but it was the pessimism and other-worldliness of Christianity against which he waged war. He too was inspired, no doubt, by Dante, in his fierce propagation of Italian imperialism, but his interpretation of the Florentine was very different from that of Pellico or Mazzini. He has more in common with the political enthusiasm of Virgil's message and conceived himself as a reviver of classical Roman paganism on its best side. He championed the Roman gentleman's ideal of *virtus* against the Christian preacher's goal of *religio*. To Carducci the black brigades of monks were the destroyers of life, light, beauty, colour and human gladness, and the blasphemers and enemies of humanity.

They made a desert and called it the kingdom of God.
They dragged the crowds from their holy altars,
the reverend householders and blooming matrons,
cursing them, whom the divine sun was blessing.
Cursing the works of life and of love,
they scrawled in their madness on rocks and in caves
atrocious conjunctions of God and of sorrow.
Drunk with lust of ruin they came down

But, as Signore Costa very rightly points out, the history of the later Roman Empire does not justify Carducci's optimism. Yet the fact that many of the noblest amongst Italy's younger men rallied round Carducci is an index of the difference between Italy and England. Renato Serra, who fell in the war, is a remarkable instance of the simple fact that the most religious spirits amongst the cultured and thoughtful people of Italy are actually being forced out of the Church by their own intellectual honesty. Carducci's philosophy is not, of course, exhausted in his polemic against Christianity. He was a great and inspiring preacher of noble ideas. In particular he headed a movement of revolt against the compromising spirit of the sluggish administrations which governed Italy before the war under the old Liberal régime. These administrations were supported on the whole by the bulk of university teachers, brought up in the tradition which acquiesced in the Triple Alliance and the Germanising tendency in Northern Italy. Such men held to a sort of comfortable Neo-Hegelianism in philosophy, and in politics looked sleepily to the continuance of the European Concert. Even a thinker like Croce belonged to this school. Against such views, based on unreality, Carduccianism was undoubtedly a live and healthy reaction.

But there has all along been another strain of thought among Italian modernists. Even within the Church there have been protests, such for example as that of Fogazzaro. But in this direction the fate of Fogazzaro,

as of Loisy in France and Tyrrell in England, shows that there is no hope. It is therefore to those outside the Church that we must look for constructive religious thought. Of charlatans and dilettantes, of new cults and spiritualist teaching, Italian cities are as full as our own. But such excrescences are common to all developed civilisations. In the two books which we are examining we have earnest attempts to find the eternal elements of true religion, if it may be so, to see whether the kernel ideas of Christianity are capable of separation from the mass of dogma and ritual in which they are hidden by the Catholic organisation.

Signore Costa is deeply read in the writings of the early Fathers ; in particular he has studied Augustine. But when he comes to deal with the Old and New Testaments his lack of critical discernment and his impatient generalisations make his work much less valuable. It is typical of writers who come from a Catholic environment that they are generally well read in the Fathers, but have little critical knowledge of the real sources of Christianity. Thus Signore Costa entirely fails to appreciate the difference between pre-exilic Hebrew religion and the new Judaism of the post-exilic community. To him Judaism is the religion of the Hebrew prophets, a single simple system which is explicable, very crudely, from the peculiar nature of the Hebrew people. There is a direct connexion between the Jewish expectation of a catastrophic and revolutionary end of the present world and of a succeeding new heaven and new earth, and the illusory and deplorable utopian dreams of modern socialism, all, according to him, engineered by these same Jews, —he surely forgets Jean Jaurès and Keir Hardie.

Christianity, Costa declares, has gone wrong because its adherents, misled by Paul, clung to the Semitic god inherited from Judaism. This Semitic god is the impossible person who first makes the world and its contents from nothing and then, after making men so that they can sin, unfairly throws the responsibility of sin on them, and finally rescues them by the devices, as he thinks, unreal, of the Incarnation and Atonement. Take away this Semitic god, and with him the whole conception of permanent individual existence in either God or man, and we have left the valuable idea of Original Sin, that is to say, the fact that misery and evil are inevitable concomitants of the world in which we live. As for the Christian doctrine of the soul, its value consists in the moral striving inherent in our nature. To most of us religious faith without God or continued individual existence seems difficult, probably. Not so to Signore Costa. He is much influenced by his study, not, we think, at first hand, of Indian religion and particularly of Buddhism. And then he conceives that the value of Christian pessimism and ascetism is certain and that if a revival of religion be possible—and he thinks it is inevitable—our religious faith will include a profound conviction of the existence of evil and a moral ascetism practised not in physical separation from the world, but in active self-sacrifice and in losing ourselves in living and loving.

The Roman Church, which, after all, is really Christianity in its present form to him, is an organisation based on a conception of the universe thoroughly mediæval and in conflict with all the views held by modern educated men and women. It is, according to him, a product of the deplorable attempt to combine monachic asceticism with government of the actual world. The Roman Church began its downhill course under the dominance of the Benedictines ; under that of the Dominicans it went from bad to worse ; finally it became a definite obstacle to all true religious idealism under the iron hand of Jesuitism. As for modern Italy, he states definitely that the bulk of educated people are either coldly indifferent or actively hostile to religion, except those few who wish to pass as Christians for political reasons,

whilst the country people are actually crude and superstitious animists, neither more nor less. This is a terrible indictment to come from a sincerely religious man, an earnest and in many ways scholarly thinker, and the intransigent obstinacy of the Roman hierarchy must bear the blame. Signore Costa knows little or nothing of Protestantism, yet he has a kindly passage about its sound moral effects in Northern Europe. Its central motive, he thinks, was the repudiation of ascetism, "in which it was sincere," though he does feel that "Luther struck a blow at the heart of Christianity" in this repudiation, since the pessimism which leads to ascetism is one of the great permanent truths of Christianity. The influence of Leopardi and Schopenhauer is as evident in Signore Costa's work as is, from our point of view, his striking ignorance of religious conditions amongst Protestants or of modern critical views of the Christian sources. He simply does not envisage the possibility of a plurality of independent groups forming one invisibly united church.

The work of Signore Manacorda proceeds on entirely different lines. He is more of a mystic and less interested in history. Instead of studying the development of Christianity in order to discover its permanent elements, he states *a priori* what appear to him to be the positive conclusions which make up a religious faith possible for to-day. His attitude toward the Catholic organisation is quite as definite as Signore Costa's, but more sympathetically expressed, perhaps even more trenchantly final for that very reason. "I cherish a great sympathy and predilection for Catholicism, in which I was born, a sympathy I have never hidden; but, frankly, as a dress I find it too tight here, too slack there, and at one time I am being choked, at another have too much room in it, like a conscript in a ready-made uniform. To sum up, I find it a little too stately for me. I prefer linen to silk and the madonnas of Gentile to those of Raphael. And then I like to have my neck free and to feel sun, wind and rain on my skin." "If but Catholicism had kept one single particle of mystery!" he cries. The Church's claim to possess exact knowledge of every detail regarding this world and the next seems to him profoundly irreligious. For to Manacorda the great fact of life is the mystery behind things, and to be religious is to wonder and to love—not crude and indolent wonder, but wonder which comes from knowledge and from effort. Thus the mystic is the true activist—exact knowledge and attainment are mechanical and in the end materialistic. He attacks both modern historical science and modern medicine as mechanistic and we get the impression that in Italy there is a great deal of cocksure materialism amongst scientific men—a good deal more than we meet here.

Manacorda's whole spirit is thoroughly Christian in an enlightened sense, though it would seem that his dislike of claims to exact and final knowledge sometimes carries him rather far. In speaking of marriage and of property he urges that the solution of all difficulties is to be found in living in the spirit, in a life devoted to giving rather than to acquiring, to self-sacrifice rather than to selfishness. The right political attitude is that of anarchy, but not political anarchy, rather what he calls pure anarchy—the spiritual poise of him who has attained to true independence by losing himself.

There is much in this book which is stimulating, although the writer is sometimes tripped by his fancy for symmetrical arrangement and for applying categories where they are not certainly applicable. In his chapter on Art there is an interesting discussion, and Manacorda thinks that he has made an advance on the classical analysis of Lessing in *Laocoon*. To him there are two elements in creative art, the inspired conception and the

technical accomplishment. Each or both of these may be on either the crude material level, the higher rational level, or the highest supra-rational level of him whom knowledge and love have led to live in the mystery which is life. Where both are on the highest level we have genius. Artistic accomplishment in proportion as it draws nearer to its unattainable perfection, becomes more and more an interpretation of the underlying mystery in which existence has its being. Thus the supreme artist is only another aspect of the supreme saint. The same thing is true of knowledge. The highest knowledge is not attainable by logical reason alone. The crude knowledge of the man in the street is largely illusory, he lives in the plebeian quarter of the city of God; the philosopher's rational knowledge also is partial and deceptive, his place is in the bourgeois quarter; only the instructed mystic dwells in the royal quarter. He goes so far as to claim that the greatest victories of knowledge are due to something beyond pure intellectual reasoning. Columbus and Curie were mystic geniuses.

In all this there may seem something fantastic. But there is at least nothing woolly or indolent or dilettante in Manacorda's mysticism. He recognises the great moral facts of life. His goal is not a hypo-rational instinct reached by relaxation, but a hyper-rational faith reached by effort. We must, he says, feel, rejoice and suffer with Infinity whilst recognising it as Infinity. He preaches an asceticism, as does Costa, but in both cases it is not a negative asceticism of withdrawal from life, which he truly stigmatises as the negation of mysticism, since it is only in full and free immersion in the life around us that we can find the great mystery. His mysticism is that of activity. Through living and loving one comes daily nearer to the heart of life.

As for the various religious systems, Manacorda regards these as fenced plots, each limited in its scope by its very definitions and dogmas. "There is," he says, "no enclosed garden which does not include a smaller or larger part of the great mystery." And he urges the importance of will in attaining true knowledge. We should *will* to wonder and to marvel.

There are obvious criticisms which will occur to many in reading this brief account of two interesting books. In especial it is difficult to see how either of our authors would square their views with much which we think we have now grasped regarding the nature of personality. It is hoped that enough has been said to give at least some idea of what free-lance religious thinkers of the type of Costa and Manacorda are doing for men of faith and goodwill in an environment mentally so different from our own.

J. P. NAISH.

CURRENT LITERATURE

"Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."—FRANCIS BACON.

"A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."—JOHN MILTON.

(The place of publication is London, and the date 1924 or 1925, unless otherwise stated.)

The Old Testament. NEW TRANSLATION. By JAMES MOFFATT, D.D.
D.Litt. Hodder. 2 vols. 10s. 6d. each.

An editor's task in deciding how Dr. Moffatt's translation of the Old Testament should be noticed is almost as difficult as that of the translator himself. Obviously, it should be reviewed by a Hebrew scholar, and by a master of the Hebrew text; equally obviously, the reviewer must have literary skill, a wide range of knowledge, and an eye to style and the use of words. If he can be a lover of the Bible and well acquainted with its private and public use, so much the better. Who is sufficient for these things? The only name that jumps to the mind is that of Dr. Moffatt himself—which is impossible!

It may, however, be not entirely useless to learn how the translation has appealed to one who, possessing only the last of these qualifications, has been impelled to work through the Old Testament with the translation before him. This in itself suggests the first service Dr. Moffatt's translations have rendered to the Christian religion: he has driven people back to their Bibles. On every side we meet with those—some of them perhaps only at the instigation of scathing and sensational notices—who are "reading Moffatt." That is a long step forward.

Then Dr. Moffatt is helping us—slowly but surely—in driving home the lesson summed up in Tertullian's sentence: "Our Lord called Himself Truth, not Custom!" Too long have we been prone to choose the familiar rather than the accurate, the customary rather than the correct—and all the time we have been doing dis-service to the cause of Truth and of Him Who was the Truth.

Similarly Dr. Moffatt has served us by forsaking the slavish adherence to the order of verses in the Authorised Version; he does not hesitate to transfer to other chapters passages that plainly belong there. This helps to break down the Bible-fetish notion which is still so common. Dr. Moffatt is stirring the nests, and soon the weakest Christian will learn to fly. All this, of course, is not to say that Dr. Moffatt carries us with him all the time. No preacher who has felt a congregation respond to the reading of *Isa. 1¹⁶⁻¹⁸* in the Authorised Version or Revised Version will be disposed to replace those verses in public worship by:

Your hands are full of bloodshed;
Wash yourselves clean,
banish your evil doings
from my sight,
cease to do wrong,
learn to do right

make justice all your aim,
 and put a check on violence,
 let orphans have their rights,
 uphold the widow's cause.
 Come, let me put it thus,
 the Eternal argues :
 scarlet your sins may be,
 but they can become white as snow,
 they may be red as crimson,
 and yet turn white as wool.

At other places in the same book, however, the translation is very effective. Take, *e.g.*, 30¹⁵⁻¹⁷ :

The Lord, the Eternal, Israel's Majesty,
 he had declared,
 " Your safety lies in ceasing to make leagues,
 Your strength is quiet faith."
 But this you would not have,
 You answered, " No,
 We must have cavalry to make a charge !"—
 Your charge shall be a flight ;
 " We need swift horses"—
 Swift shall be your pursuers ;
 let but five threaten, you shall fly
 till few are left of you,
 lonely like any pole upon the hills,
 like any signal on a mountain top.

There are many points, of course, that a reviewer would like to take up, but one must suffice. Does Dr. Moffatt always use English ? Several times we have come across words that are either Scotch or used only in cross-word puzzles ! Probably Dr. Moffatt would say the end justified the means—and certainly " coronals for coronachs " is very pretty.

We have little doubt that the translation will make its way, and the animated discussion about it is a healthy sign. It is amazing how opinions differ. We had noted, *e.g.*, that the translation of *Job* was highly successful, and had read some of the concluding chapters in public worship with the feeling that the translation soared (with the exception of the hopeless line " I thoughtlessly confused the issues ") almost to the same heights as the Authorised Version, which is truly wonderful here : afterwards we were interested to read, on the same day, that Dr. Moffatt himself considered *Job* " not one of the least successful pieces of the work," and Professor T. H. Robinson that " the Hebrew student will probably feel that the Book of *Job* is the least successful part of the work."

Our readers might like to note in their copies slips Dr. Moffatt has since pointed out : *Gen.* 14¹¹, " four " for " five " ; *Gen.* 27²⁷, " Isaac " for " Jacob " ; *Ezek.* 1¹⁰, " lion " for (the first) " eagle."

EDITOR.

Life and Letters of George Wyndham. By J. W. MACKAIL and GUY WYNDHAM. Hutchinson. 2 vols. 42s.

Memorials of Albert Venn Dicey. Edited by ROBERT S. RAIT. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

John Benn and the Progressive Movement. By A. G. GARDINER. Benn. 25s.

Miller of Ruchill. By J. SOMMERVILLE SMITH, M.A. Glasgow: Thomson and Cowan. 3s. 6d.

George Wyndham was a favourite of fortune. Born of good stock, of fine presence, endowed with many gifts of heart and brain, happy in his home life, he stands out as a fine example of the cultured English gentleman. We are doubtful, however, whether affection has not outweighed wisdom in publishing a biography of this size. Mr. Mackail's memoir tells in competent fashion the story of an attractive personality, but some of the letters (they occupy 700 pages), especially those dealing with hunting and matters of family interest only—could have been omitted with advantage. Wyndham had no love for Free Churchmen, and indeed, he probably had no intimate knowledge of them or of their views. As he speaks of "Nonconformists who can't fight well or won't fight fair," it is not surprising that he has to confess shortly after, "every Nonconformist in the town is voting against me." A reference to "the leaders of Nonconformity in the House of Commons, bribed by baronetries," is surely beside the mark, but perhaps compensation is offered in a letter dating from 1907: "The best speech was a 'maiden' by Simon, a Fellow of All Souls and barrister, on the Government, Free Trade, side. It was nearly perfect; indeed, perfect, but for a faint touch of the 'superior person.'"

A striking illustration of what can be done in the way of bringing a life story within reasonable compass is Professor Rait's *Memorials of A. V. Dicey*. He, too, draws largely on letters and diaries but—though Dicey's life was thirty-eight years longer than Wyndham's—the book has only 304 pages. Here, however, there is not a superfluous word, and there stands out the clear-cut figure of a scholar who, in spite of serious physical disability, besides being for long an acknowledged authority on certain aspects of English law, intervened at times in politics with great effect. Professor Rait has given us a readable account of a winsome character, and we are grateful to him for performing his task with such taste and skill.

Mr. A. G. Gardiner's is another big book, though perhaps in this case there is some excuse, as he sets out to combine a biography of John Benn with a history of the Progressive Party in the London County Council, of which Benn could say, without fear of contradiction, *magna pars fui*. John Benn's is an inspiring story—parts of it would have appealed to Samuel Smiles—and the account of his rise from newspaper boy to skilled workman, lecturer, publisher, politician, and public servant, is well told. Benn had always the courage of his convictions, and he did not forsake or abate his Free Church opinions when success came to him; with the qualities of a doughty fighter he combined an intense love of home and a keen delight in little children—probably no visitor has ever been welcomed in London's schools as was John Benn. The attempt to marry biography and history has not been altogether successful, and Mr. Gardiner's partisanship is always evident. While we may agree with him in general, it is rarely that so much of the right and the wisdom in controversy is on one side as he suggests.

These three men—taking very different lines politically—had the same high sense of responsibility to their times. It would have been easy for them all to live private lives and follow their own pursuits and pleasures. While such men are impelled to take up the thankless duties of public service we need not fear for mankind.

And now we add a fourth, of a different type. For ten who have heard the names of Wyndham, Dicey and Benn, probably not one knows that of W. D. Miller; yet he had the same high spirit, and we are inclined to think he did as much for his fellows of any of the other three. Hundreds of people reckon their lives holier, sweeter and happier through his influence, and the

thrill of his life's work has been caught and transferred to these pages. Born in 1868, minister at Largs and Dunipace, his main work was done at Ruchill, a working-class part of Glasgow, where he built up a church of many activities, the membership increasing from 260 in 1895 to 1140 in 1924. There were no limits to the ardent labours of this servant of God. Two stories of his pastoral visitation, which was systematic and thorough, may be quoted :

"One of his patients was an old body with a serious heart affection. The doctors could do little or nothing for her. Time and again her son would say, 'My mother is always as right as rain after Mr. Miller has called.'"

"I don't often see your husband at church of late," he said to the house mother. "No," said she, "he's ta'en up wi' thae Socialists." "But," said Miller, "if it's the right kind of Socialism, it should not be bad for him. Isn't he a better husband for it?" "Better husband!" exclaimed she, "I had aye tae gie him his breakfast in bed on Sunday, but since he took up wi' them, I hae tae give him baith breakfast and dinner in bed!"

EDITOR.

Christus Veritas. By WILLIAM TEMPLE, Bishop of Manchester. Macmillan. 10s.

The production of a book like this in the early years of an unusually exacting episcopate is no small achievement. The book shows hardly any signs of haste, and in learning, grasp and thoroughness, compares favourably with any theological work of our time. It is a companion or sequel to a volume entitled *Mens Creatrix*, published in 1917, and some acquaintance with the philosophical background presented in the earlier work is necessary to its full understanding. The writer attempts to give a theological exposition of the whole Christian revelation, working from the circumference inwards to the centrality of Jesus Christ and then out to the circumference again. The scheme of the book falls into five parts: (1) Outer circle, in which are discussed Reality, Value, and Religious experience. (2) Inner circle, comprising the Nature of Man, History and Eternity, and the Nature of God. (3) The core of the argument, viz., the Godhead of Jesus Christ, the Person of Christ, the Holy Spirit and the Church. (4) Inner circle, again, viz., God in the Light of the Incarnation, Eternity and History, and Man in the Light of the Incarnation. (5) Outer circle again, viz., Worship and Sacraments, the Atonement and Love Divine, the Blessed Trinity.

So far as the scheme is concerned what chiefly calls for criticism is the place assigned to the Atonement. The Cross of Christ surely belongs to the centre rather than to the circumference of the Christian system, and Dr. Temple's treatment of it only serves to emphasise a fact made very apparent in the rest of his work, viz., that his whole view of the Incarnation is more philosophical than experimental. It should by now have become an axiom of modern Christology that no treatment of the Person of Christ is adequate which does not see it in the light of and in the closest possible relation to His work. Atonement is not an incident of Incarnation but of its very essence. Dr. Temple is fully aware of this, but hardly makes it clear to his readers.

For the earlier part of the work we have nothing but praise. It gives a scholarly and most suggestive discussion of the Nature of God and Man, and of their relations from the strictly Christian standpoint, and the conception of personality, divine and human, which emerges stands the writer

in good stead when he comes to frame his theory of the Person of Christ. In doing this he puts himself in line with the Greek tradition and argues that in the divine-human person of Jesus there is "a formality of personality from the outset, and also that substantial unity is an achievement." At the same time there is a real and successful attempt to translate the terms of technical theology into the language of modern Christian experience. For example, "Though there is only one Person, one living and energising Being, I should not hesitate to speak of the human personality of Christ. But that personality does not exist side by side with the divine personality; it is entwined in it. Will and personality are ideally interchangeable terms: there are two wills in the Incarnate in the sense that His human nature comes through struggle and effort to an ever deeper union with the Divine in completeness of self-sacrifice." (p. 150). And again, "By His Incarnation, therefore, the Lord did indeed 'raise our humanity to an entirely higher level, to a level with His own'; but this was not accomplished by the unspiritual process of an infusion of an alien 'nature,' but by the spiritual process of mutual influence and love that calls forth love." (p. 152).

In the second half of the book there is a very significant discussion of the Sacraments in which the Bishop substitutes the term "value" for "substance" in speaking of the elements, and contends that the doctrine of the real Presence means that "when in faith you receive the Bread and the Wine you receive the Lord Jesus Christ into your soul as truly as those who opened their doors to Him in Palestine received Him into their homes." This is well said and illustrates the frankness and sanity of the Bishop's whole position, though it will hardly satisfy some of his fellow churchmen. The chapter on the Atonement, though, as has been said, it falls a little strangely into the outer circle of the book, is very good, as good as any summary treatment of so great a subject could be. It is conceived in terms of a most judicious treatment of forgiveness which goes far to excuse the apparent eccentricity of its position. Atonement is the cost of forgiveness to God.

The whole book is a very real contribution to modern theology. It at once guides and stimulates thought, and if it challenges criticism and even at times disagreement, this is only to show that it is thoroughly alive.

W. B. SELBIE.

The Theology of Tertullian. By R. E. ROBERTS, D.D. Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.

A good English book on Tertullian has long been one of the desiderata of the theological student. No ancient writer is more important for the development of Christian thought or left so deep a mark on the life and language of the early Church. As a forceful and versatile personality, a keen controversialist and most prolific author he must always challenge attention and interest. We therefore welcome Dr. Roberts's study of him as at least going some way towards supplying a felt want. Let it be said at once that the book is a painstaking and scholarly piece of work. It gives a faithful estimate of Tertullian's place in the development of Christian thought, of the relation between his experience and his teaching and of his reactions to the work of other teachers of the Church. It takes full account of the influence of Greek philosophy on his thinking, and then proceeds to expound his views on the earlier doctrines of Christianity. This is all done in a restrained and sober fashion, mingling criticism and appreciation in due proportion, and the positions taken up are supported by abundant quotations, notes and references. The book was written

originally as a thesis for the London doctorate and this fact suggests the main criticism to which it seems to lie open. It is too academic. It treats Tertullian almost as though he were a theological professor and little or nothing else. Thus it rather lacks human interest and scarcely gives a true impression of the vigorous and tumultuous personality with which it deals. This fault, however, must not be allowed to obscure its many excellences. The theological student will find it a very safe guide to the life and thought of one of the most interesting and important figures of the early Church.

W. B. SELBIE.

Intelligence in Expression. By LEONE VIVANTE, translated by Prof. BRODRICK BULLOCK. C. W. Daniel Co. 10s. 6d. net.

This is a good translation of the latest work of Leone Vivante, an Italian scholar and prophet of the new Idealism. He may be regarded as a critical follower of Croce and Gentile who has been greatly influenced by modern English philosophers, notably Bradley and Bosanquet. The main thesis of his books is stated thus by Prof. Wildon Carr :

"It is an application of Croce's theory of art to the larger problem of organic life in its full biological meaning and especially to the particular philosophical problem of the mind-body relation. It is, in effect, that the neuro-cerebral organisation stands to the mind in a similar relation to that in which the plastic material an artist uses stands to the artist's intuition, namely, as the essential medium of artistic expression."

In other words, we have here an extremely interesting type of idealist philosophy based on a physiological and psychological examination of man's mental problems and experience. In these terms the author investigates the relations between thought and the material of its expression, and between matter and the various forms of its activity. He then deals with the values these forms represent and seeks to estimate the reality underlying them, particularly in relation to the concepts universal and eternal. He treats big subjects in a very fresh and interesting way, and the book should appeal to all who are interested in the developments of modern philosophy.

W. B. SELBIE.

RECENT PSYCHOLOGY.

The spate of books on psychological subjects continues and shows no sign of diminution. Students of psychology have now no lack of material at their command and have no excuse for the shallow judgments and hasty generalisations that have characterised some of the work of the past.

Among the pile of books lying before us we would notice first two slim volumes on *The History of Psychology*, by James Mark Baldwin (Watts 2s. each). The first volume covers the history of psychology from the earliest times to John Locke, and the second from Locke to the present day. Dr. Baldwin has a great reputation as a psychologist, and his story of the development of thought on the subject is written with ample knowledge and understanding and in a style that makes it comparatively easy to follow. The book serves as an admirable and indeed necessary introduction to the subject, but it is no small achievement to have covered the ground within so brief a compass and in so thoroughly able and interesting a fashion.

Next comes a book of a very different kind, namely, *Dynamic Psychology*, by Professor T. V. Moore, M.D. (Lippincott, 15s. net). Dr. Moore is a Benedictine Monk, a Medical Director of a Clinic for Nervous Diseases,

and a Professor of Psychology in the Catholic University of America. His book is an introduction to modern psychological theory and practice and is published under the imprimatur of the authorities of the Roman Church. It is, as the title indicates, a very complete discussion and exposition of psychology largely from the physiological and psycho-pathological standpoint. The author has evidently had a very wide experience of pathological cases and is able to cite many of them to illustrate his positions. The main sections of the book deal with the analysis of Mind, with Human Behaviour and Emotional Life, with the Driving Forces of Human Nature and their Adjustments, with various aspects of Psycho-analysis and Psycho-therapy, and with Volitional Control. Dr. Moore pays a good deal of attention to the borderland questions between psychology and philosophy and has some sound teaching to give on subjects like the freedom of the will and the nature and existence of a soul. This is the more interesting because his general discussion of the subject is pretty thoroughly physiological. In the section on psycho-therapy he very carefully describes and criticises the theories and methods of Freud, Jung and Adler, and shows himself independent both in his thought and practice. For those who wish for a practical exposition of the inner life of the mind, and some introduction to the clinical problems of psychology, this book should prove of the very greatest service.

Side by side with Dr. Moore's book we may place *Instinct, Intelligence and Character*, by G. H. Thompson, Ph.D. (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.). The sub-title of this book is "Educational Psychology," and it is written by a Professor of Education, though it only deals incidentally with actual educational aims and methods. The book is based on a series of lectures given at Columbia University, New York, and contains a very full and clear exposition of the whole science of mental processes in animals, children and adults. Here again we have a careful and critical survey of the whole psychological field from the standpoint of modern research. Full use is made of the experimental method and of physiological data, and the intelligent reading of the book by teachers should help them greatly in understanding their pupils and differentiating among them, and in discovering the best methods of educational approach and discipline. Dr. Thompson writes clearly and attractively and, though his whole treatment of the subject is thoroughly scientific, it is less technical and more easily understood by ordinary people than most of the similar books on the subject.

A rather different type of book is *Human Psychology as seen from the Dream*, by Julia Turner (Kegan Paul, 6s. 6d.). This is a continuation of Miss Turner's previous book, *The Psychology of Self-consciousness*, in which she put forward her anxiety hypothesis as one of the elements in the direction of human thought and conduct. In the book before us she carries this idea into the analysis of dream life with the view of finding in it suggestions for a therapeutic and educational method. In the first part of the book the author discusses dreams as the psychological apparatus for harmonising experience. She then deals with the anxiety drama as illustrated by dreams and, in the third part, with the self as seen through the dream. Her general position is that she finds in dreams a real witness to the waking consciousness and a solution of conflicts through a call to a higher life. Miss Turner writes clearly and her work is thoroughly interesting and illustrated from a very wide experience. The kind of psychological re-education at which she aims is no doubt very useful in many morbid cases, but we cannot quite escape the feeling that there is a good deal that is fanciful and mystical about her interpretation of life and its conflicts, and the exact bearing of her illustrations from dreams on the point she seeks to establish is not always clear. She comes to the conclusion that "the history of religion and the study of dream

analysis both demonstrate the fact that in the very machinery of his mental life man is driving perseveringly towards one goal—re-union with the unseen source of his being.

We turn next to a rather interesting study in applied psychology under the title *Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations*, by M. T. Price, Ph.D. (Shanghai, and London: Probsthain. 16s.). The impact of Christianity on various oriental peoples has already been studied from a good many points of view. The unique thing about Dr. Price's book is that he confines himself to its psychological aspect entirely. His aim is not in any sense to defend or explain missionary enterprise but rather to describe it disinterestedly as a perfectly natural phenomenon or form of human behaviour. He therefore investigates the various ways in which Indian, Chinese, and Japanese peoples react to Christian propaganda. He tries to discover what it is that leads them either to resent or to accept it. He seeks also to show the parts played by individual psychology and by the group mind in the process, and he maintains throughout the attitude of one who is simply a scientific investigator. His method has, of course, the defects of its qualities. He presents us with a vast amount of material of great anthropological and religious interest, and he sifts and classifies it all with scientific skill. While his work will no doubt prove rather disconcerting to certain missionary enthusiasts it will be really helpful to all those who wish to understand the right methods of approach to eastern peoples and the psychological conditions which are necessary for successful propaganda. There is no doubt that a great deal of Dr. Price's material is not very well digested and a good many of his conclusions seem to need more support than he is able to give them. But he has produced an eminently readable book and one that needs to be taken into account by all who have the interest of missionary work at heart.

To this list we may add two smaller works, *Psychology and the Sciences*, edited by Dr. Wm. Brown (Black, 6s.) and *The Psychological Approach to Religion*, by Dr. W. R. Matthews (Longmans. 3s.). The first of these books consists of a series of lectures delivered in Oxford and having as their common object an examination of the effect of recent advances in psychology on other departments of human knowledge. Thus, Dr. J. S. Haldane discusses the bearing of psychology on Biology; Dr. Marrett its relation to anthropology; others deal with Logic, Ethics, Theology, Education and Psychical Research, and the editor, Dr. Brown, with Medicine. So far as is possible within the limits of a lecture each writer gives a useful account of the way in which recent psychology has affected his particular subject. The lectures should do good service in correcting exaggerated impressions which have been formed as to the results of the new Psychology, and the ordinary reader will find in them a welcome and stimulating introduction to the study of the psychological point of view.

Much the same may be said of the second of these volumes, which deals with the bearing of Psychology on Religion. It consists of three lectures, on "Belief in God," "Conversion," and "Immortality." Dr. Matthews is a philosopher who does not altogether despise psychology. But he knows its limitations and his treatment of its relation to religion is both frank and discriminating. Here again is a book that should be very useful to those who are feeling their way in a new field of study.

W. B. SELBIE.

The Significance of the Cross. By G. H. MORRISON, D.D. Glasgow: Thomson & Cowan. 2s. and 1s.

The Message About the Cross. By C. J. CADOUX, M.A., D.D. Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.

What is the Atonement? By H. MALDWYN HUGHES, D.D. Jas. Clarke. 4s. 6d.

The Problem of the Cross. By V. F. STORRS, M.A. S.C.M. 4s. and 2s. 6d.

Atonement. By H. MAYNARD SMITH, D.D. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

We have here quite a group of new books, mainly small, which deal with a permanently interesting subject. The books represent different denominations, are inspired by different teachers, lay stress upon different solutions, and stand for somewhat differing attitudes towards the Bible or the Church.

Dr. Morrison's preface appeals to the teaching of his "old and honoured friend, Dr. Denney." The book is exceptional in its structure. It is a synopsis of three sermons, printed in broadly spaced lines; as for instance

"If you had a life of Gladstone in 40 chapters,

and if of these 40 no fewer than 15 were devoted to a minute and detailed account of his last week and his death,

you would at once conclude that these closing days were days of extraordinary significance.

That is exactly the proportion which you find "in St. Mark.

Somehow, in the experience of at least one reader, Dr. Morrison has succeeded in giving us no skeleton but the very sinews and the very marrow of his thought. "Not a stroke descends in vain." It is magnificent Christian preaching, and makes good its main points with overwhelming force. Theologically, perhaps, Dr. Morrison is less successful. He asks, "Why was the cross needed?" and replies "God is more than a private person; God is the moral ruler of the Universe." I doubt whether Dr. Denney would have been found on that slippery incline which leads from the penal theory proper to the theory of penal example, and from it—if I read history aright—to obliteration of the great doctrine of salvation through the death of Christ. Again, we read, "Christ is more than a man; He is Man." Will any such frigid piece of ingenuity really "answer" our "difficulties"? Once again; it may be the pure Denney doctrine that gratitude for pardon procured is the true and full explanation of the moral power of the Cross; and thankfulness to God does doubtless enter into every moment of a Christian's life. But is thankfulness all? Or is thankfulness due simply for the gift of pardon through a substitute?

Prof. Cadoux feels chiefly attracted by the teaching of a fellow-Pacifist, Mr. W. E. Wilson, or of the late Dean Rashdall. One might have thought it impossible to state a thinner version of the Moral Influence theory than the Dean of Carlisle's; but I almost conceive that our own theologian has done this. Page 47: "What forgiveness and reconciliation do is not, as used to be thought, to secure for us a reprieve from our due share of the pains of hell, but to forestall the incurrance of future penalties by breaking the power of sinful habit in the present, and so preventing further sin." Page 49: "The death of Jesus . . . enables God to forgive sin only in so far as it brings us to our senses" and "elicits . . . repentance." Had the Christian religion meant no more than some of its modern interpreters allow, it must have been drowned in forgetfulness long ago. One passes no judgment on the personal faith of the theologians, living or departed; but it is a duty to judge their formulated theories. Signs are not wanting that Prof. Cadoux,

who writes earnestly and reverently, wishes to add something more to such meagre outlines as have been quoted. At times he speaks of suffering in God Himself; this view we shall find more conspicuous in Dr. Maldwyn Hughes. A note on page 53 expresses a fear, half roguish but half wistful, that he may already have gone too far to have been approved by Dean Rashdall. It is possible that Prof. Cadoux has not yet spoken his last word on this great theme.¹

The sting of the present little book is to be found in its tail, where—as we might have expected—we meet with a proclamation of Pacifism. This alleged vital centre of Christianity is to furnish at least one great clue to the mystery of the Cross. Christ, Who had taught non-resistance, must practise non-resistance under the extremity of outrage. The Temptation narrative is held in itself to prove that Jesus was a Pacifist. For the O.T. set before Messiah a programme of conquest; and the only possible reason why Jesus did not follow that programme was His perception that it involved force, and that force was inherently wicked. To which one may reply: If Jesus found in the O.T. another programme for the Lord's anointed, one of preaching and of consolation (Is. 61¹—see the Beatitudes; the message to the Baptist; the Synagogue sermon at Nazareth), He had His marching orders; it was for God to install Him as King when and as God chose; “None taketh this honour unto himself.” Moreover, Jesus could not condemn Kingship as such without condemning the O.T.—in which He lived and from which He drew great part of His spiritual strength. You cannot write down Jesus as a Marcionite!²

The *outcome* of the Pacifist reading of the Cross is that we are all to help to atone for sin by sharing in suffering. Prof. Cadoux quotes “Origenes” as drawing no sharp line between the achievement of Christ and that of His martyrs. Origen was in full sail towards the adoration of the saints and the doctrine of the Church's treasury of merits—where, one presumes, Prof. Cadoux will not follow him. The twentieth century takes its own responsibilities when it teaches “the Saviourhood of” every “disciple.” Canon Raven chimes in³ as a social reformer. “It is by the blood of the saints that the world is redeemed.” But we read of the first great group of Christian sufferers that they came out of the great tribulation, and had washed their robes and made them white in the blood of—the LAMB. Therefore, it is added—*therefore* are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in His temple, and He that sitteth on the throne shall make His tabernacle with them.

The modern teaching is very near indeed to a denial of the Lord that bought us.

Dr. Maldwyn Hughes names no one authority as his guide. He writes in a fine spirit, and passes many telling criticisms; but it is difficult to hold that he has treated his task seriously enough either as scholar or as thinker. His exegesis of Gen. 2¹⁷ may be dogmatic or may be rationalist but is certainly not critical and historical. Mainly he is concerned to emphasise the theme that God suffers for sin. The very title page quotes (from two different chapters of Rev.) “a Lamb in the midst of the throne . . . the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.” I open Dr. Moffatt's commentary, and I read that the crucial words “are generally taken as a scribe's gloss,” and that “in any case ‘from the foundation of the world’ goes with ‘written’ and not with ‘slain.’” Of course it was not necessary for Dr. Hughes to

¹ Surely “Yesterday and the third day” does not mean in Hebrew “recently”—see p. 25f.n.—but “even in the remotest past.”

² Of course, for any full discussion there is a world of considerations to add.

³ *Holborn Review*, Oct., 1924.

concur with Dr. Moffatt ; but was it a scholar's part to ignore the doubt or a thinker's to build heavily upon a foundation at once so slender and so insecure ?

Let us waive this. Let us suppose it to be true that sin has added to its other hideous triumphs the crowning success of making the blessed God habitually unhappy. What gospel is there in that ? Are the vicarious sufferings of the God of Glory an atonement for human guilt ? Or is the regenerating message this, that we ought to be ashamed to add to the discomfort of so good-natured a being as the Lord God Almighty ? I can find nothing better in the thesis than a flimsy sentimentalism, which goes to pieces under the slightest analysis.

The fourth book comes from the great Anglican communion (and is enlarged from an earlier issue). It makes a noteworthy effort to face the facts of N.T. teaching, not always with success. "It would be largely meaningless to make Gentiles submit to the Mosaic law" is hardly a fair equivalent for "If any preach another gospel, let him be anathema"; or for "Christ is made of none effect" to Gentile law-observers, "ye are fallen from grace." An apology, somewhat in the spirit of 2 Pet. 3¹⁵, is offered for St. Paul's hard sayings. Paul speaks of propitiation, but can only mean expiation. He speaks and thinks of expiation ; but he was obliged to express himself in the categories of his age, while we have the advantage of those of the twentieth century—notably the two favourite thoughts of the Fatherhood of God and of the divine immanence. That the theology of atonement has too often clouded the thought of God's Fatherhood is, we fear, true ; that divine immanence is to be all-determinant is a much more questionable assumption. Does any Christian fail to assert that God is also transcendent ? The immanent action of God is, one might say, deity impersonal ; in judgment and in redemption God is tremendously personal, and it is with Him we have to do. And after all

The old thought is not therefore true
O brother men, nor yet the new.

And we have heard of One Who is the same yesterday and to-day and for ever.

Coming to deal with modern dogmatic theories, Canon Storr sets aside substitution, and sets aside, too, the doctrine of Christ as representative, though a warm tribute is paid to R. C. Moberly and one notably warmer still to M'Leod Campbell. Expiation has therefore been struck out as incredible ; and doubtless the necessity of Christ's Cross in order to the forgiveness of any single sin (as distinguished from its necessity in order to mankind's renewal) might prove a thesis difficult to vindicate. The true theories, it seems, are two ; the theory of moral influence issuing from the Cross but prolonged by the glorified Christ through the Holy Spirit (and through sacraments ?), and the theory of an eternal sorrow for sin on the part of God. These combined are to give us all we need, and to help in relieving the perplexities of modern minds.

The reviewer must confess, what perhaps ought to shame him, that he never personally can preach Paulinism in all its paradoxical strength. But he also feels that diluted and flavoured Paulinism is a rather poor substitute for the very strong genuine liquor. And more than Paulinism is at stake. What is to become of the "once" and "once for all" of Hebrews ? And are pp. 51 and 127 correct in saying that the forgiving grace of God is simply a somewhat lavish prepayment for foreseen future goodness ? I had rather say with Luther, "God's nature is to exalt the humble . . . to quicken the desperate and damned."

Canon Maynard Smith's presuppositions appear, startlingly enough, in the dedication "to the memory of Frank, sometime bishop of Zanzibar . . . by the friend who still hopes for his prayers," or again upon p. 14. " (1) The points upon which the Church has decided are relatively few, and to deny those decisions would be to deny the Holy Ghost. (2) [on the Atonement] there is a more or less dominant tradition, but no decision has been . . . formulated. (3) Some points [of detail] remain open for anyone to believe as he likes." The author, under these conditions, is honourably desirous of helping the modern mind, but he nowhere shows himself a close thinker, nor yet, I think, does he reveal personal power. The best one can say is that he reiterates with no extreme of dogmatism the great commonplaces of the Gospel and of the catholic tradition.

After contemplating the theological results of these efforts by five good men, the reviewer feels all the more inclined to the view which he has stated in print—that our starting point must be the recognition that "God required the death of Christ as a lever to raise men." That is Forsyth's hostile formulation, as quoted by Dr. Cadoux; in more sympathetic words, the Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believes, and the crucified One, while a stumbling block to moralists and a folly to metaphysicians, is both "the power of God and the wisdom of God," since God when He is most foolish is wiser than men, and God at His weakest is stronger than men.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

The Divine Law of Human Being. By F. C. CONSTABLE, B.A. Kegan Paul. 7s. 6d.

There is thought and there is right feeling in this book, along with much that is eccentric. The author stands for the reconciliation of science and faith. He attaches immense importance to evolution, which points us towards an economic Utopia, such as we ought to reach and but for slackness and selfishness might have reached already. But from the point of view of humanity—rather oddly contrasted with the "anthropocentric" standpoint—sin and suffering obtain a new significance, and Utopias fall into a secondary place. Jesus Christ is the perfect man, Who—because of our inevitable limitations—spoke the truth in parables. Dogmas and ceremonies arose inevitably after His time, but we have to look beyond all the religions to "religion." Perhaps, if the Roman Catholic mode of worship could be offered to the world without condemnation of dissentients, there would be hope of the spiritual victory of Christ and of the fulfilment of the divine purpose.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. By ERNEST F. SCOTT, D.D. Macmillan. 6s.

There can be no doubt as to the scholarly competence of Prof. E. F. Scott or as to his scrupulous caution. Dealing rapidly with the few *Agrapha*, setting aside the Fourth Gospel as a less historical source (though not without some special elements of authentic tradition), and recognising (pp. 90-91) Luke's bias in favour of poverty and almsgiving, he tells us what Jesus is not—not an economic reformer; not (p. 40) a mystic (yet p. 41 qualifies this); not (p. 81) a literalist, even (p. 27) disposed to a "touch of paradox or exaggeration."

Jesus' ethic is founded in religion. God gives the kingdom; we cannot produce it (p. 48), though (p. 56) "by repentance and prayer and steadfast

obedience men may . . . prevail upon God to anticipate the set time," and p. 47) "it may be that Jesus thought of his own death as an offering to which God would respond by shortening the days."

A hampering time-influence has been detected by the scholars of the eschatological school in Christ's expectation of the near end of the world. I hope it is no evasion to suggest that an eschatological message had been proclaimed with unmatched power by John the Baptist, and that Jesus, while recognising John's work as "from heaven," and while valuing the legacy of a great religious revival which the Baptist—or God through him—had created, ever so slightly yet ever so deeply modifies both the moral and the religious outlook.

It is on different grounds that Prof. Scott is tempted not to assail but to come down on our confidence in the wisdom of our Lord. "In his revulsion from unloving" Pharisee "piety, Jesus was led, perhaps, to place an excessive value on humility" (pp. 103-4). On the law of divorce (p. 101)—"the one definite enactment of Jesus"—Prof. Scott makes a rather embarrassing case for the view that Jesus authorized separation without the right to marry again; experience seems to prove that that system is pregnant with evil consequences.

At times the problem of the alleged limitation of Jesus' wisdom involves us in questions of detailed exegesis or criticism. It is hardest of all to agree with Prof. Scott when he hails *Luke* 16⁹ as a "profound saying" (p. 93). The present reviewer, at any rate, is convinced that the saying is Luke's and not Christ's, and that it involves a stupid allegorizing of the pungent parable which precedes it.

There is very much more one could wish to dwell on, but space forbids. Every thoughtful student of the Gospels ought to read the little book and think it over, and ought to benefit by doing so.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

The Literary Genius of the Old Testament. By P. C. SANDS. Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d.

Mr. Sands is a practical schoolmaster and he has plotted out fourteen lessons on the poetry and prose of the Old Testament which are well worth the attention of all who are interested in the teaching of the "Scripture" lesson either in day or in Sunday schools. The critical position assumed is thoroughly sound, and the O.T. stories are compared effectively with roughly contemporary non-Biblical literature. Thus stories of Abraham dating from the ninth century are printed in parallel columns with Homeric narratives. The Old Testament is released entirely from any artificial "Sundane" atmosphere, and its heroes and heroines are placed on the same footing as those of Greece or of England, thus correlating the Bible lessons with ordinary historical and literary work. There are valuable lessons on the Wisdom Literature and on the O.T. style as continued in the N.T., so that the modern insistence on the importance of the post-exilic period and the absence of any black line between the Old and New Testaments is thoroughly stressed. There is a particularly delightful attempt to reproduce the style of the Ode of Deborah in "the kind of ode which a Hebrew prophet might have composed upon the defeat of the Spanish Armada".

In short, Mr. Sands deserves our thanks for a most valuable piece of work. It is only a few months ago that we were appealed to on behalf of a bewildered headmaster for something of this kind.

Here it is, and we hope that it will be widely used.

J. P. NAISH.

Early Hebrew History. By HAROLD M. WIENER, B.A. Scott. 5s.

This book contains three essays, of which the two first are reprints of work published in 1921. They are entitled *Factors in Early Hebrew History*, *The Law of Change in the Bible*, and *Biblical Doctrines of Responsibility*. The author's style is not attractive and his arguments are based largely on a view of the sources which is entirely his own, as is evidenced by the constant references to his own previous publications. In spite of his rejection of current Pentateuchal criticism he admits having discovered to his own great surprise, that "enormous changes were introduced, generally by royal authority" into the fabric of Hebrew law during the pre-exilic period. Mr. Wiener's views really do merit the adjective "perverse." He considers that the Hebrew prophets were a definite professional class "wearing the garb of the office and belonging to a recognised calling".

In spite of his furious attacks on the critical view, no one indulges, when it suits his book, in more reckless subjective textual criticism than does our author. He seems unable to lift himself out of the atmosphere of the twentieth century lawyer, and has absolutely no sense whatever of the ridiculous, else how could he solemnly assure us that when David threatened to exterminate Nabal's household, he "is speaking as a freebooter, not as a judge or a man of God". But what are we to do with one who thinks of David as the head of a state controlled by a system of statute law already many centuries old, and who seems never to have heard of tribal custom or the blood feud?

J. P. NAISH.

S. Aurelii Augustini, episcopi Hipponensis, *De Civitate Dei contra Paganos* libri XXII. Edited with an Introduction and Appendices by J. E. C. WELLDON, D.D. Two Vols., S.P.C.K. 42s.

The City of God is one of the longest and certainly the most carefully composed of the works of the greatest Christian teacher since the Apostles. It exercised a stupendous influence for quite a thousand years. An explanatory edition has been for a very long time one of the most crying needs of the student of Latin Christian literature. The ideal edition would comprise an account of the argument, a list and description of the manuscripts, with a statement of their inter-relations, an account of the printed editions, and an exhaustive bibliography of the literature of the subject that has accumulated since the invention of printing. It would also contain an apparatus criticus, an explanatory commentary, perhaps a translation, and certainly indexes of scripture and other writings quoted, names and matters, vocabulary, accident and syntax. An index of the more striking words used might in such a case profitably mark the errors of omission on the part of the favourite Latin dictionary, Lewis and Short, which quotes this work with some frequency.

Such is the ideal that one has for long been hoping to see realised, but we are living in an age when such an ideal is almost impracticable. Our debt of gratitude to Dr. Weldon and the S.P.C.K. is none the less great that they have achieved only certain portions of the task of the ideal editor. For it means a great deal that the Dean of Durham should have given the leisure of a very active and varied life to this work, that he should have taken his duty so seriously as to read through all the works of Augustine in preparation for it, and that the S.P.C.K. has published this substantial edition in such an attractive form, at what must be described in these days as a low price.

An admirable introduction of fifty pages is followed by a bibliography of the principal editions of Augustine's complete works, of the *De Civitate Dei* (separately), both editions of the text itself and editions of the text with commentary, and of translations of the *De Civitate Dei*. Then follows the Latin text, with explanatory notes at the foot of the page, and below these references to passages of Scripture, etc., quoted. Nine appendixes follow entitled respectively: "The City of God" (a definition of Augustine's conception), "The Literary Style of Augustine," "The Church and the Stage," "Augustine's Theory of Sacrifice," "Augustine's Statement of the Incarnation," "Augustine's Theory of Miracles," "Augustine's Appeal to Prophecy," "Augustine's Theory of the Church," and "Augustine and the Text of Holy Scripture." An index of names concludes the second volume. In my opinion the best parts of this edition are to be sought in the introduction and in certain of the appendixes, but the commentary itself will be most helpful.

This concluding paragraph may be devoted to some errors that have been noted in the course of reading. The title should read "S. Aureli Augustini episcopi Hipponiensis," as the single *i* in the genitive of such names was still proper in Augustine's day, and "Hipponiensis" has been proved by the inscriptions and the best MSS. to be the more correct form, though Goldbacher alone has had the courage to put it on a title page. In the Bibliography the statement with regard to the Vienna edition of Augustine (p. lvii.) is misleading. The latest published part of it appeared in 1923, not in 1900, and the number of its volumes (of Augustine) is incorrectly put at twenty-eight instead of eighteen (twenty-two parts); also the publisher of the first fifteen volumes is correctly named, but not the publisher of the greater part of the series. Dr. Welldon knows (p. lviii.) the first (1863) and second (1877) editions of Dombart¹, but does not know the third (Vol. I., 1908; Vol. II., 1905), which he would have been well advised to adopt as his text, instead of the earlier and inferior Vienna edition by Hoffmann. Besides the editions of L. Vives' commentary mentioned (pp. ix., lx), there is one before me bearing the date 1596. A classical scholar might have been expected to notice the confusion between C. Marius and Marcus Priscus, betrayed by the *perfrui dis iratis*, which comes from Juvenal, *Sat.* I., 49-50 (C.D. ii. 23A). In the note on Book VII., Chap. I. (A), it might have been stated when *deitas* does actually emerge in Latin, namely in Arnobius unless we date the Latin version of Irenæus earlier: Book VIII., Chap. XI., B., etc. *Ptolomæus* is the spelling not only in Augustine, but throughout Latin literature. At XIII., Chap. XXIV.C, the editor does not seem to know that certain living scholars of repute identify Vulgate with "Itala"; in fact he shows no knowledge of the detailed study of Augustine's Bible by such scholars as De Bruyne, Burkitt, and Capelle. At XV., Chap. XII.E., the old-fashioned title "Polyhist" is added to Solinus, as if it were the title of his work, and 3 should be I. 34. At XVII., Chap. III.F., notes, line 4, "Testamenti" should of course be "Instrumenti," and "eloquium" should be "eloquiis." The whole note could have been much improved by a reference to Harnack's treatment of the word *instrumentum* in this connexion; it is, as a matter of fact, very rare outside Tertullian. At XX., Chap. XXI.G., note, "Marcian," should be "Marcion."

A. SOUTER.

The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary sources. By JAMES HOPE MOULTON and

¹ The sections into which Dr. Welldon has divided the chapters will form a welcome alternative to Dombart's pages and lines.

GEORGE MILLIGAN. Part V. by George Milligan, *μαγεύω το ὀψώνιον*. Hodder. 10s. 6d.

The fourth part of this work was published four years ago, but the delay in the issue of this fifth part is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the author was called to the high and absorbing duties of Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the year 1923 to 1924. The work needs no commendation here, as it has long established itself as the indispensable companion of all who study the New Testament in Greek. The qualities which have distinguished previous parts are here also. Two thirds of the alphabet have now been covered, and the hope may be expressed that the author will complete the work in two further parts.

A. SOUTER.

The Traditions of Islam. By ALFRED GUILLAUME, M.A. Oxford Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d.

Ethics of India. By E. W. HOPKINS, Ph.D., LL.D. Yale and Oxford Univ. Presses. 14s.

It is a curious fact, as Prof. Guillaume remarks, "that an empire containing more than a hundred million Muslims has not produced a book in the English language dealing with and explaining" the Traditions which regulate the life of Muslims throughout the world. A study of these Traditions is not the concern of scholars alone. Prof. Guillaume found when he was serving as a political officer in the Arab Bureau during the war that these Hadith were "invoked by doctors to settle the question as to whether the faithful should eat horseflesh, and by Bolsheviks to persuade Muhammadans that republics are of divine appointment." Prof. Guillaume provides the English reader with a succinct, and obviously competent, account of the evolution of these Traditions, and gives typical quotations from them which greatly facilitate the study of popular Islam. Many of them deal with trivial points of etiquette, for even in his table-manners the pious Muslim must be guided by the example of the Prophet. The Traditions as a whole present that same curious combination of the noble and the base which makes the character of Muhammad still an inscrutable mystery. Some are obviously due to Christian influence and show the endeavour made by later Muslims to assimilate the character of Muhammad to that of Jesus, and, by presenting him as a worker of miracles, to make him a more august and impressive figure than the Muhammad of the Qurān. Until this admirably clear and authoritative book appeared it was necessary to refer students to German works; now some knowledge of this unduly neglected branch of Islamic study is made accessible to English readers.

Prof. Hopkins's book on *Ethics of India* is intended to form an appendix to his well-known *Religions of India*, published thirty years ago. It is a very much shorter book, and is written in a less forbidding style than the learned but very difficult work. It was planned before the appearance of Mr. McKenzie's *Hindu Ethics*, which we reviewed in these columns, and covers much the same ground as that very suggestive volume, but it deals with the subject from a different standpoint. Mr. McKenzie sought to relate Hindu Ethics to Hindu religion, and his book, which appeared in the "Religious Quest of India" series, was written from a definitely Christian standpoint. Prof. Hopkins has dealt with Hindu Ethics in isolation, disclaims any polemical interest, and compares Hindu Ethics, not with Christianity, but with the Ethics of America. In this way, he will more

easily escape the reproach of Hindus that he is influenced by a Christian bias, but his lack of any religious standard of judgment leaves unrelated and unexplained the combination in Hindu Ethics of lofty ideals with ideals which have been pernicious in their influence. The book is written with abundant learning and resolute impartiality, but to many who know India its standpoint will appear unduly detached and academic. Even from the data which Prof. Hopkins himself presents we may well doubt if it is enough to say that "what India needs is to realize herself, to broaden out her spiritual heritage until it meets the further requirements of this later age, not to rest upon the foundation already nobly erected by her own saints and scholars, but to continue to build along the same inspiring lines." No one who has lived in India and learnt to call some Hindus friends will deny the attractiveness of many Hindu ideals. But more than development is needed. There is needed a new ideal which can expel the base and perfect the noble, and a motive force which Christianity alone can supply. We look in vain in Prof. Hopkins's book for any adequate recognition of the transformation in India's ethical ideals which has already resulted through the pervasive influence of Christ.

SYDNEY CAVE.

The Making of Modern India. By NICOL MACNICOL, M.A., D.Litt. Oxford : University Press. 7s. 6d.

Kenya. By NORMAN LEYS, M.B., D.P.H. Hogarth Press. 15s.

These are books of quite unusual interest, to be read, not by students only, but by all who are ready to learn of that clash of colour and of ideals which is one of the gravest perils of our time.

The Making of Modern India is designed "to provide some material by which to estimate the character of the forces that are making the new India, and the direction in which these forces are carrying her." The book fulfils its purpose with extraordinary success. There is no observer of Indian life whose judgment we have more reason to trust than Dr. Macnicol. He is one who knows India both in town and country and who loves her with a love which is brave enough to face the saddest facts. The book consists largely of articles which have already appeared in various periodicals. It is divided into five sections: Political Progress, Social and Religious Unrest, Ideas, Personalities and Unchanging India. Nowhere does the writer's insight fail, and we know no book which puts its readers with as quick and sure an insight into the troubled and confused political and religious situation of modern India. It is impossible in the space at our disposal to give an adequate idea of its rich and varied contents. It is a book to be read by all who would know what are the forces which are shaping Indian life. Religion in its sublimity and degradation; Hindu reformers and saints, great Indian Christians, Nationalist leaders and heroes; all are described with sympathy, truth and knowledge. We are often asked for instance, "What about Mr. Gandhi?" It is easy to write of him with blind hostility or with indiscriminating praise. In this book his strength and weakness are alike depicted—the impossible union in him of politician and saint, agitator and quietist. That is but one illustration of the abundant riches of this book. We would recommend it to all our readers, who will find it not only of fascinating interest, but of the greatest possible service for the understanding, in so far as understanding is possible, of the present Indian scene, with its immense potentialities for both good and evil.

Dr. Norman Leys was for sixteen years in the medical service in East Africa. His book on *Kenya* provides an admirable account of the recent history of that colony and of the life and thought-world of its native races. But it is far more than a contribution to our knowledge of distant lands and peoples. It is a challenge to the principles and practice of British rule there. The story he tells is not one to be read with pride. It is a story of broken promises, of the alienation of native lands, and of rebellions which ought not to have been occasioned, and which were put down with harshness whilst at the same time, instances of white brutality to natives have been lightly punished or condoned. Such are his charges. He is careful to blame the system rather than the men, a system by which a country is run in the interests of a few thousand white settlers. It is possible that there is another side. We hope there is. But Dr. Leys's challenge is too definite to be met by vague accusations of bias and prejudice. If his facts are wrong, they should be corrected; if incomplete, we should be given the new data for our judgment. As it stands, the book is a grave indictment of British justice. As Prof. Gilbert Murray says in his preface, "In the Covenant of the League of Nations, we of the advanced races of mankind have definitely accepted the task of governing and guiding in their own interests and not in ours those peoples which are 'not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.' We have formally accepted the principle that 'their well-being and'—what is much more—'their development form a sacred trust of civilisation.' Very suitable language if the object is advertisement; but a momentous and difficult pledge if we seriously mean to carry it out." Dr. Leys has an interesting chapter on Christian Missions. Missionaries are accustomed to being criticised for judging of colour-problems by Christian standards, which to their critics seem just sentimentality. The complaint which Dr. Leys makes is far more serious. For many missionaries he has the greatest admiration, but of others he complains, not that they are too Christian, but that they are too eager to keep the African under authority and unwilling really to believe in the Christian brotherhood they preach. This is not a book to "enjoy", but it is a book to read—a book which vividly depicts that colour-problem in which Christian theory and Christian practice are far from being reconciled.

SYDNEY CAVE.

A Short Introductory Dictionary of the Kaonde Language. By R. E. BROUGHALL WOODS. R.T.S. 10s. 6d.

The Bantu language here illustrated is spoken in Northern Rhodesia and in the Katanga district of the Belgian Congo. It is properly a dialect of the widespread Luba language, and is closely related to the neighbouring Ila, of which the present reviewer wrote a *Handbook* some years ago. A large proportion of the words here recorded are identical with Ila words; others, while written alike, bear diverse meanings; many differ only slightly in pronunciation. The Bible Society published St. Mark's Gospel in Kaonde in 1923. Mr. Woods, who is a Native Commissioner in the North Rhodesia Administration, avoids all display of philological learning. He has not given us any sketch of the grammar (as we think he might have done) but has simply provided a plain vocabulary. So far as it goes the work is excellent. Ordinary readers will not make much out of it, but any one in search of anthropological data will find a good deal to interest him; for many customs and beliefs are briefly described in connexion with relevant words. For example, under *Chowa*, the totem-name of the mushroom clan, we are

old that a party of mourners returning from a funeral plucked and carried with them mushrooms found on the roadside; other people laughed and dubbed them the "mushrooms"—a simple explanation of what has caused much debate among anthropologists. The note appended to *Leza* (the Deity) sums up the Kaonde theology: "A distant, disinterested and inscrutable being, who is rarely worshipped." The vocabulary suggests a whole series of philological discussions, for which, however edifying to Bantu students, this is not the place. It must suffice to praise the book as a very useful addition to our knowledge.

E. W. SMITH.

SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST.

PROF. A. C. UNDERWOOD'S *Conversion: Christian and Non-Christian* (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.) is both a readable book and a most useful contribution to religious literature. For a "comparative and psychological study" of this kind the author was particularly well fitted, for in addition to thorough knowledge of the Bible and of Church History and a varied teaching experience he has had the advantage of several years' teaching at Serampore. These qualifications give his volume authority, on the one hand, and life and reality, on the other. Part I. ("Historical") deals with conversion in Judaism and Christianity, and then in other religions, ending with a chapter on "The Dramatic Representation of Regeneration." Part II. ("Psychological") treats of such subjects as "Conversion and Adolescence"; "Experiences preceding Conversion"; "The Psychological Mechanism of Conversion"; and so forth. Part III. sums up "Conversion in its Comparative Aspects." This summary will convince our readers that the book merits their attention: it is a decided addition to our resources on a line of thought (especially on the comparative side) that has been little worked. Dr. Underwood might have drawn more liberally on the religious experience of the Puritans (even of Cromwell himself) and of the mystics (Fox he frequently quotes, but Boehme is not mentioned).

We are sorry to say that we do not think Father Waggett did justice either to himself or his hearers in the Hulsean Lectures, *Knowledge and Virtue* (Clarendon Press, 10s. 6d.). They were prepared after a few years' absence from books, and we regret that the lecturer had not a better opportunity for preparation. They are, to us, ragged, uneven, and uncoordinated, and yet all the time we have the feeling that it is something really glorious and fine that Father Waggett is trying to say. His war experiences affected him deeply, and he believes that it is only religion based on knowledge that can give peace to men and to the world.

Two useful books on the subjects of prayer are before us. The first is Dr. W. Emery Barnes's *Early Christians at Prayer* 1—400 (Methuen, 6d.) not a good title because half the book is devoted to the "Prayer in the Old Testament", "Prayer between the Testaments," and "Prayers for the Departed." The volume, however, is a useful and scholarly collection, the many prayers cited being a remarkable illustration of the depth of Christian faith. This is a little book which is worth keeping with a few chosen books of devotion. The Rev. A. L. Lilley's *Prayer in Christian Theology* (S.C.M. 4s.), aims at illustrating the judgment that Christianity is the religion of prayer by a study of representative mystics—Clement of Alexandria, St. John Cassian, St. Bernard, St. John of the Cross, and Wiclif.

Many who found Dr. Thomas Walker's D.D. thesis too heavy for them will read with enjoyment and profit his *What Jesus Read* (Allen & Unwin,

4s. 6d.), in which the debt of Jesus to the synagogue is measured and his independence outlined, the points where "he stepped out in advance of the mind of his time and left the teaching of the Judaism of his day behind him" being brought out.

Vol. II. of *Christ and the Critics* (Burns, Oates, 12s. 6d.), the translation of Dr. Hilarin Felder's *Jesus Christ*, is marked by the same characteristics as its predecessor. The two sections in this volume deal with "The Person of Christ" and "The Works of Christ," and the writer, a Roman Catholic and a defender of traditional views, shows such wide reading in supporting his positions that we would again recommend Protestant students—and those whose views are not traditional—not to overlook his work.

The Speaker's Bible, Job, Psalms 1-13 (Speaker's Bible Office, Aberdeen, 10s. 6d.) has the features we have noted in previous volumes in the series. It draws on a wide range of literature for its illustrations, some of it very recent. It is a pity it has been necessary to include some of the Psalms in this volume; *Psalms 13* seems an awkward and unnatural place for a division.

President O. S. Davis's *Principles of Preaching* (Chicago University Press, \$2.50) is "A Text-book, based on the Inductive Method, for Class Use and Private Study." A "work sheet," suggesting how a sermon should be analysed and criticised, is prefixed to eight sermons by Robertson Bushnell, Brooks, Beecher, Chalmers, Spurgeon, Newman and Ainsworth—and on the studies of these sermons the "principles of preaching" are based. Dr. Davis's method, which treats students as if they were boys rather than men, is unusual in this country, but by it—or in spite of it—he manages to convey sound advice.

Three books by Roman Catholics next greet us. That they should be written at all seems a work of supererogation, for in the Preface to the first of them Mr. Belloc tells that the triumph of Catholicism is assured. He says: "It is sufficiently clear to those who survey Europe in the mass, and follow the full outline of their time, that our civilisation must return to the Faith or be destroyed. It is a conclusion arrived at in a hundred ways by observation, by instinct, by history. There stands in support of it the evident formation, insistent throughout the West, of growing intellectual superiority upon the Catholic side: so that to-day no-one is worthy to stand as an equal against the Catholic controversialist save that rare being, the pure sceptic." So that settles it! We are surprised, however, that Mr. Belloc limits the number of ways to a hundred: "instinct, we should have thought, might easily have raised it to thousands—at least Dom Bévenot's book, to which Mr. Belloc writes the preface, discusses *Pagan and Christian Rule* (Longmans, 5s.). "*Pagan Rule at Its Best (The Augustan Age)*"; "*Pagan Rule versus Christian Rule (The Age of Theodosius)*"; and "*Christian Rule at Its Best (The Thirteenth Century)*." Three chapters on "Past and Present" conclude a volume the aim of which is far from clear. Mr. Denis Gwynn is an Irish journalist, who has been in France for three years. In *The Catholic Reaction in France* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) he has given us an informing and pertinent book. He sets out to describe the condition of the Church in France to-day, dealing, among other things, with the Catholic Press, the Catholic Trade Unions, and the Clergy. The depopulation of whole countrysides and the rush to the towns make it very difficult to generalise about the Catholic revival, but there is no doubt that the war, and especially the bravery and sacrifice of the priest, led to a changed attitude to the Church on the part of many. The chapter on "The Depopulation Menace" gives some almost incredible figures about abortions. Mr. F. J. Kinsman, who was an American fifty years before he

became a Catholic, sets out in his *Americanism and Catholicism* (Longmans, s.) to show that "the American Nation needs the Catholic Church as aid in harmonizing and correlating its varied elements. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, in another way, needs strong young nations like the American for effective application of her principles in the modern world." We do not think Mr. Kinsman will win America for his Church by this book, although it is—in the first few chapters—of acute and penetrating analysis, combined sometimes with bad history (e.g., "a Catholic authority was the first to grant toleration in religion"). On "Catholicism" he has "nothing to add," and if you will not accept authoritative statements, you are not functionally, if not organically, non-receptive." So, we fear, *we* must be.

In 1923 we called the collection of essays, *Liberal Evangelicalism*, "one of the most encouraging books we have read for a long time," and it is natural, therefore, that we should welcome its successor, *The Inner Life* (Hodder, s.). The fourteen essayists include Bishop Barnes and Canons Burroughs, Raven and Storr; Canon T. Guy Rogers is again the editor. The writers are at once earnest and learned, and there is a tolerance and sympathy about their work which is most refreshing. How different is the next book! Readers who desire to feel a little "holy anger" are advised to read as much of it as they can stand—the Rev. P. B. Bull's *Christian Teaching* (Vol. I., S.P.C.K., 1s.). If *this* is the Church of England there is about as much hope of our uniting with it as there is of an immediate millenium. It is narrow and nasty, sectarian and smug. It would be advisable to turn back to *The Inner Life* for a few moments after reading *Christian Teaching* in order to realise that there is another spirit in the Anglican Church.

In May, 1924, a party of Anglo-Catholics visited the Holy Land. They called their visit *The Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage* (SS. Peter and Paul, 3s.) and Mr. Sidney Dark describes its significance to those who took part in it in a pamphlet with many photographs.

Little books by three men who are rendering conspicuous service to our times fall to be mentioned next. The Rev G. A. Studdert Kennedy's *The Word and The Work* (Longmans, 2s. 6d.) is the book recommended for silent reading by the Bishop of London. It is marked by the passionate earnestness to be found in all that Mr. Studdert Kennedy writes—everywhere in the sufferings and sorrows of men he sees the Cross of Christ. If we did not make a point of reading everything that Dr. L. P. Jacks writes, the three lectures in *The Challenge of Life* (Hodder, 2s. 6d.) would no doubt have made a much greater impression on us, for they do indeed make readers "face up" to the modern challenge. The lectures, however, reiterate the ideas to which Dr. Jacks has directed so much attention recently that the note becomes tiring because of its stridency. We shall nevertheless see to it that young people in whom we are interested hear the call to quit themselves like men. Dr. Rufus Jones never fails to be interesting, and his *Fundamental Ends of Life* (Macmillan, 6s.) deals with vital problems in an attractive way. Put together while the writer was recovering from a serious motor accident, the lectures point the way to the healing forces for the deep and tragic wounds of the world."

We are glad that Canon Streeter has collected Miss Dougall's six papers in *God's Way with Man* (S.C.M., 4s.) for we could not afford to lose anything that came from her suggestive mind. Especially are we grateful for the biographical sketch, with its account of the Cumnor group, for we know how it will be welcomed by many who only knew Miss Dougall through her writings.

Dr. S. H. Mellone's writings always repay perusal, and the six essays in *The Price of Progress* (Lindsay Press, 7s. 6d.) are full of sound thinking.

The seventh essay—"Symbolism in Religious Experience"—is new; the others are reprinted.

In reviewing a book called *The Imprisoned Splendour* in our first number, we said the worst thing about it was the title it had borrowed. Evidently people like that title, for Mr. Chambers Macaulay has chosen it for his latest book (Hodder, 7s 6d.). Mr. Macaulay is making his place as a suggestive writer, and this volume has the same qualities as its predecessors. Some of the chapters are exceedingly good, and always when Mr. Macaulay is simple and direct he grips. But he has a dangerous facility in the use of words, and it is inclined to lead him—and his readers—astray.

We suspect that those of our friends who publish volumes of sermons, and tell us they never sell, must be modest men—for sermons continue to find publishers, and it is not our experience that publishers are philanthropists. The three volumes of sermons before us are all from Scotland; perhaps that is why they are good ones. We like the Rev. D. C. Mitchell's in *The Nonsense of Neutrality* (Thomson and Cowan, 3s. 6d.). They are direct and forceful, and yet not without references to literature that suggest Mr. Mitchell is scholar as well as preacher. But surely he is not monarch as well—he has given a title to Professor Gilbert Murray on p. 109; perhaps this merely indicates that he is a prophet. The Rev. A. J. Gossip's sermons in *The Expository Times* we have frequently commended, and we are glad to have more of them in *From the Edge of the Crowd* (T. and T. Clark, 7s.). Mr. Gossip calls them "Musings of a Pagan Mind on Jesus Christ." They are sincere and earnest in their presentation of the Gospel and illustrated by quotations that are neither commonplace nor forced. There will be differences of opinion about attempting to bring the experiences of Jesus into the same form, that of the dilemma—we have the dilemmas in the desert, in the garden, with Judas, and so forth—but if any repugnance one feels to this method as artificial and mechanical is overcome one will enjoy the Rev. James Black's *The Dilemmas of Jesus* (Hodder, 7s. 6d.)

It was an excellent notion to gather together twenty-three of the *Missionary Sermons* (Carey Press, 6s.) preached for the Baptist Missionary Society, with portraits of the preachers, who include Spurgeon, Parker, McLaren, John Watson, and many living preachers. The sermons date from Dr. Ryland's in 1812 to the Rev. Thomas Phillips's in 1924, and not the least striking feature about the volume is that Mr. Phillips's sermon is as good as any of those that precede it—and better than most: it throbs with life and passion even in the printed page. At the same time should be read the Rev. John Macbeath's *The Conquest of Kingdoms* (Carey Press, 2s.) a graphic account of the work of the B.M.S.

The Rev. Walter Lowrie is Rector of the American Church at Rome. His *Problems of Church Unity* (Longmans, 9s.) describes so clearly the present confusion of thought in the Churches that we hope to discuss it in greater detail later. Meanwhile we warmly commend it to our readers. In *Quo Tendimus?* (Hodder, 2s. 6d.), Bishop Henson prints the two parts of his recent visitation charge and also a sermon preached at Cambridge. The first part of the charge deals with domestic matters, especially with the work of the Enabling Act. The population of the diocese of Durham is 1,478,506; 156,138 are on the Electoral Roll, but only 8,832 parochial electors attended the annual meetings. The second part deals with Copec. The supreme merit of Bishop Henson is clearness—there is never any doubt what he means. His attack on Copec is extremely vigorous, and sometimes he seems to use feet as well as fists. A Bishop should do well to remember

that we are to speak truth *in love*. The Dean of Chester's *The Nature of Cathedral* (Mowbray, 2s.) is a welcome sign that those in charge of the cathedrals are waking up to a neglected duty—and opportunity. We are glad that one who has given such careful thought to the subject has been placed on the Archbishop of Canterbury's recently appointed Cathedrals Commission.

Much may be learnt from *Church and Chapel* (S.P.C.K., 1s.) by "One who has served both." We have no love for anonymous productions, and should have liked this book better had the ex-Nonconformist minister who writes it added his name. He compares the custom and practice of church and chapel, and suggests "what each may learn from the other"; his experience of Nonconformity does not seem to have been fortunate and sometimes his description approaches caricature.

Those of our readers who read *John Bull* will not need to buy *A Book of Homely Wisdom* (Bodley Head, 5s.) for it contains Dr. R. J. Campbell's articles in that journal between 1922 and 1924—over a hundred contributions on a great variety of topics. "*Die to Live*" (Hodder, 5s.) consists of selections made by Mrs. Jacks from the sermons of her father, that gifted writer and preacher, Stopford Brooke. The choice has been carefully made and many will be pleased to have the volume on their shelves.

Dr. J. S. Griffiths's *Health and Personality* (Hodder, 6s.) is a rambling book that covers a great deal of ground, but it is always interesting, if only for the fact that the writer has opinions and does not hide them. Dr. Griffiths makes a common mistake in writing as if people of his own class were the only people in the world. Has he no idea how bitter working women feel when they read such sentences as, "The finance of a home should be on business lines. Its mistress should have a banking account for household expenses, and should pay everything, as far as possible, by cheque"? Thousands of the best homes in this country are run by women whose husbands earn £2 to £3 a week, and they have to be run with a far keener eye to business than that of your mistress with a cheque book!

The stream of books about marriage has an uninterrupted flow. Under the title *Marriage and Disease* (Phillips, 7s. 6d.), Dr. J. Dulberg has prepared a condensed popular edition of Senator and Kaminer's *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage and the Married State*. After dealing with the general question of marriage, the chapters treat of the relation of marriage to specific diseases. Mr. W. M. Gallichan's *The Critical Age of Women* (Health Promotion Ltd., 6s.) should be read by all approaching middle life. Dr. G. Courtenay Beale, in his *Intimate Letters to Husbands and Wives* (Health Promotion Ltd., 6s.) writes to imaginary correspondents, though the cases dealt with have come under his observation in his new "confessional." We need not agree with all Dr. Beale's opinions and suggestions to admire the courage and skill with which he faces the difficult and delicate problems of married life to-day. Miss Margaret V. Graham writes a brief but clear *Common-sense Treatise on Birth Control* (Bale, 6d.), and in *The First Five Thousand* (Bale, 2s. 6d.), Dr. Marie Stopes presents the first report of her birth-control clinic, based on the 5,000 cases that have so far come under notice. Mr. Aylmer Maude, having written the life of the ablest man he has met (Tolstoy) now writes that of the ablest woman, in *The Authorised Life of Marie C. Stopes* (Williams and Norgate, 5s.). Dr. Stopes's youth and education, her scientific studies and travels are described, and the developments which led to her interest in sexology and birth control outlined. Mr. Maude is an enthusiastic admirer of Dr. Stopes's

work, and tells the story well, though there is some repetition and at times the arrangement is faulty. Not without interest is the account of the way the Roman Catholic Church organises its opposition to Dr. Stopes's teaching; it seems able to make its power felt in places where independence might be expected.

Archdeacon R. H. Charles's *Gambling and Betting* (T. and T. Clark, rs. 6d.) ought to be in the hands of all ministers and workers amongst the young. It is a very clear and concise statement of the whole position.

Mr. H. G. Wells has been trying his hand at journalism, an article a week for a year. At the end of it he observes: "If there is anything worse in this world than periodic journalism it must be preaching and having to go into a pulpit with half an hour's supply of uplift fresh and punctual every Sunday." Fifty-five articles are gathered together in *A Year of Prophesying* (Fisher Unwin, ros.). Mr. Wells's analysis is so acute and we so often agree with his conclusions that it is not easy to understand why the volume leaves us dissatisfied. Reflection convinces us that it is because the articles are so entirely critical—Mr. Wells never praises, and seems in danger of becoming a scold. He says, "I am against the clothes we wear and food we eat, the houses we live in, the schools we have, our amusements, our money, our ways of trading, our . . . , our . . . , our . . . , the British Empire, the American Constitution." In addition, the League of Nations is "the dismallest sham on the earth," and only rarely does Mr. Wells rise to such heights of exuberant optimism as to say, "There are moments when it would seem that after all man is a reasonable creature." Coming to construction, Mr. Wells would have Britain "disentangle from India, draw near to America, come out of and keep out of ententes and alliances upon the continent of Europe." He would keep young persons at school (though not our present schools) until they are 18, and then give them the vote.

Sir Edward Grigg was intimately connected with those responsible for the welfare of this country in the most critical years of its recent history and his lectures to the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, embodied in *The Greatest Experiment in History* (Milford, 11s. 6d.) are therefore of special value. Sir Edward believes that the British Empire is justified by its works and needs no apologies. In these lectures he expounds in clear and frank fashion British policy in Egypt, India, the Near East, and in relation to the European situation.

Everything that brings first-hand information from India is of value, and we welcome *Sidelights on the Crisis in India* (Longmans, 3s. 6d.) in which Mr. H. Harcourt, a retired Indian Civil Servant, prints some of his letters to an Indian friend, with the latter's replies. There are some good stories and much light is thrown on Indian life at the present day. The study of Gandhi seems to lack sympathy and understanding, but the book is one which all interested in Christian Missions and in the problem of India ought to read.

Prison Reform at Home and Abroad (Macmillan, 5s.) is a useful work in which Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise sums up the history of the International Prison Congress, the next meeting of which is to be held in London this year. The first Congress was held in London in 1872, and Sir Evelyn recounts the resolutions and achievements from that time on. His work cannot be neglected by those interested in prison reform.

Humanism and Technology (Milford, 3s. 6d) consists of six lectures given to a vacation school for engineering teachers by Principal Grant Robertson and others. William Watson's "What Science says to Truth" is prefixed as motto:—

As is the mainland to the Sea
 Thou art to me.
 Thou standest stable while against thy feet
 I beat, I beat!
 Yet from thy cliffs so sheer, so tall,
 Sands crumble and fall;
 And golden grains of thee my tides each day
 Carry away.

If the Adult School Movement had nothing more to its credit than its *Lesson Handbooks* and the *Fellowship Hymn Book* it would have done great service to the cause of religion. Its activities, however, spread themselves in many directions, and the account of the origin and development of the organisation which the Rev. G. Currie Martin gives us in *The Adult School Movement* (Nat. Adult School Union, 3s. 6d.) will be generally welcomed.

The Rev. F. Lenwood's *Forces of the Spirit* (S.C.M., 2s. 6d.) is an admirable little book for young people who are prepared to think. Its seven chapters stipitate with life, and constitute a challenge—to youth, to Christians, to the Church. We hope many groups will use the book for study. Two other serviceable Student Movement books are Miss Fanny Street's *The Faith of a Teacher* (2s.) and Miss Muriel G. E. Harris's *The Path of Discipleship* (4s. and 2s. 6d.), the latter consisting of sensible and practical letters to a girl friend.

Canon Deane's *How to Enjoy the Bible* (Hodder, 2s. 6d.) is a little volume which can be unreservedly commended, and which all Christians ought to read. In the same series are Mr. Sidney Dark's *How to Enjoy Life*, which is readable enough, but inclines us to think that the author believes part of the enjoyment of life lies in provoking other people—and a charming volume of essays, *How to Enjoy the Countryside*, by Marcus Woodward.

Turning now to literature, there are two books on which the Clarendon Press is to be specially congratulated, the first its beautiful facsimile reprint of Milton's *Poems* (10s. 6d.) in Latin and English, issued in 1645, and the second a competent piece of work—Mrs. Simpson's *Prose Writings of John Donne* (15s.). A sketch of Donne's life, an appreciation of his work as man of letters and theologian, an estimate of the mediæval and mystical elements in his thought, and then an examination of the prose works in turn, ending with the sermons and the letters (Mrs. Simpson gives us some new ones) make up the volume, which will aid considerably in fixing Donne's place in English literature. It is a pleasure to think that our University Presses do, and will, produce works of this kind.

In *The Cambridge Book of Prose and Verse* (Cambridge University Press, 5s. 6d.) Mr. George Sampson has the difficult task of making an anthology of English literature from the beginning to the cycles of Romance—i.e., to illustrate the first volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. No doubt Mr. Sampson's selection will not please all the experts, but it will be found very useful, in schools and by individual students, for it meets a real need.

The Bodley Head is rendering good service to scholarship through its Quartos (3s. cloth, 2s. 6d. paper) and we welcome two more volumes—Anthony Munday's *The English Romaine Life* and Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse, or Supplication to the Divell*. These Elizabethan writings are of no great literary merit, but it is pleasing to have them in cheap and handy form.

Two new volumes in Mr. Jenkins's "Fireside Library" (5s.) are Mr. C. Squire's *Songs from the Elizabethans* and Dr. Compton-Rickett's *Bert Browning; Humanist*. Mr. Squire, having decided that life was too

short to define a song, set about making his choice, and we like the result—and his Preface. Dr. Compton-Rickett prefaces his selection from Browning by a fifty-page essay.

Recent lives of Stevenson will make lovers of R. L. S. look with interest on *Robert Louis Stevenson* (Hodder, 7s. 6d.) a reprint, in another form, of *The Bookman* extra Stevenson number, which went out of print before the war. Among the contributors are Sidney Colvin, Edmund Gosse, Ian Maclaren and Robertson Nicoll.

Those who are looking for suitable dramatic material for their young people should examine Mrs. George MacDonald's *Dramatic Illustrations from the Pilgrim's Progress* (Milford, 2s.). Arranged by Mrs. MacDonald for her family in 1877, they are now made public by her daughter, Mrs. Troup, and we confess we should like to see them acted.

From the six volumes of his poems Mr. A. C. Benson has chosen his *Selected Poems* (Bodley Head, 6s.). There is not much fine, careless rapture about Mr. Benson's song; his is rather the pensive strain of calm and quiet which we associate with Matthew Arnold. Indeed many of the poems seem to have their natural home in that *House of Quiet* which we always feel to be Mr. Benson's best book.

Prof. H. B. Charlton's task in *The Art of Literary Study* (Pitman, 5s.) was a difficult one, for he essays to teach the plain man how to approach literature. Many of our readers, not being "plain men," will probably think Mr. Charlton says little that is new, but we can imagine many people will derive great help from his chapters on "Poetry," "The Novel," "Drama" and "Literary Criticism."

We opened Mr. Patrick Braybrooke's *J. M. Barrie* (Drane's, 7s. 6d.) in fear and trembling, for we remembered our struggle with his *John Morley*. We were agreeably surprised, however, and gladly record that this is a much better-written book, and on a subject about which its author is an enthusiast.

We confess to a partiality for "Alpha of the Plough." When the day's work is done his essays are just the thing for arm-chair reading. *Many Furrows* (Dent, 6s.) is of the same nature as its predecessors; it takes you into the country or to Lord's, tells you about a 'bus conductor or muses about an offer of £10,000—and generally looks at a life in a whimsical and taking sort of way. We cannot express our appreciation better than by asking for more. *Many Furrows* and Mr. Woodward's *How to Enjoy the Countryside* (mentioned above) are the two books this quarter that have enabled one to breathe fresh air and keep one's soul refreshed.

We are indebted to the skill of Mr. Mandell and the enterprise of Messrs. Heinemann for an English translation of *The Plays of Ivan Turgenev* (12s. 6d.) a bulky volume of nearly 600 pp. We imagine that few will claim that Turgenev as dramatist is equal to Turgenev as novelist, but English readers, nevertheless, will welcome the plays. They may be studied (1) for the light they throw on Turgenev; (2) as a revelation of Russian life; (3) as pure drama. (1) and (2) will yield the best results to the student. The plays, successful as they might be in Russia, would not, we think, appeal to the theatre-going public here. "A Month in the Country," the longest and best of them, might conceivably be successful, and "An Amicable Settlement" would make an admirable curtain-raiser, but of the remaining eight only two, clearly as they portray Russian life, would at all suit the English stage.

We wish someone had given us a book like the Rev. T. W. Lumb's *Authors of Greece* (Jarrolds, 4s. 6d.) when we were thirteen. With zest and skill Mr. Lumb surveys the nine leading names of Greek literature from Homer to Demosthenes, and we can imagine readers catching his

thusiasm. But a list of fifteen errata on opening the book gives a bad impression!

The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum (Hogarth Press, 6s.): this vivid piece of autobiography is translated from the Russian by Jane Harrison and Hope Mirrlees, Prince D. S. Mirsky writing a Preface. Avvakum, a Russian, reformer, and fanatic, was executed in 1681, and no one who reads his story will count the time wasted.

The Rev. A. R. Ladell would have been wise to read Dr. Powicke's serious papers on Baxter in the Ryland's Library *Bulletin* before publishing *Richard Baxter* (S.P.C.K., 5s.), which appeared at the same time as Dr. Powicke's larger work. Mr. Ladell seems to have no intimate knowledge of the subject, as he certainly has none of Elizabethan Puritanism—there are many mistakes in the first four pages of the book.

Mr. K. B. McFarlane's *Cardinal Pole* (Blackwell, 3s. 6d.) is a readable (Stanhope Prize) essay about one of the most interesting characters and one of the most "impossible" men in English history.

We confess ourselves rather disappointed in Mr. John Somervell's *Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers, of Kendal, 1714—1785* (Swarthmore Press, 6d.) for we had hoped it would be fruitful of general information about the life and times of these eighteenth century Friends. As it is, we can but be thankful for the abundance of personal detail which appears, and for all we learn of the activity of the Friends in America as well as in England.

Dr. Schweitzer's *Memories of Childhood and Youth* (Allen & Unwin, 6d.) deal with his earliest recollections, his life at home and at school in Alsace, and his further education at Mülhausen Gymnasium. Dr. Schweitzer writes in a naïve, ingenuous way, and the result is a charming little narrative.

Miss D. M. Williams's *Shaftesbury* ("Teachers and Taught," 1s.) tells with conviction the inspiring story of Lord Shaftesbury's work, and Mr. E. H. Hayes's *Robert Morrison* ("Teachers and Taught," 1s. 6d. and 1s.) recounts a familiar story in the deft fashion we expect from so skilled a writer.

Essays and Adventures of a Labour M.P. (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.), a cheap edition of a volume in which Col. J. C. Wedgwood mixes up vivid descriptions of his experiences in warfare in South Africa and Gallipoli with perfervid advocacy of the Single Tax.

Some people would say there is no religion in Lord Hawke's *Recollections and Reminiscences* (Williams & Norgate, 12s. 6d.) for the volume is almost entirely concerned with cricket. Lord Hawke's mission has been to play the game and to teach others to play it, and who shall say there is not religion in that? His long association with our national game has transformed county cricket, altering the status of the professional altogether, for nobody, in spite of a recent slip of the tongue, has done more for professionals than Lord Hawke. The County professional is now a serious and steady citizen, and men like the great Yorkshiremen—Tunnicliffe, Hunter, Haigh, first, Rhodes—are an honour to any profession. There is not much literary merit about this book, but no lover of cricket will fail to enjoy it.

Mr. Cecil Roberts's *Sails of Sunset* (Heinemann, 7s. 6d.) is a decided success—indeed it is one of the best novels of 1924. Mr. Roberts takes life as it is and does not make it into one long struggle of sex-obsessed human beings. His old people, the dottore, Delfino, and the Dowager are specially attractive and the whole story is well told. Mr. Roberts, we are inclined to believe, is rather fond of descriptive writing—and perhaps he overdoes it—at those who are fortunate enough to know Venice and Chioggia will be able to appreciate these parts of his story. We said Mr. Roberts's *Visitors* was a promising first novel: *Sails of Sunset* improves on it very

considerably, and if Mr. Roberts can continue at this rate he will take his place among the first novelists of our time.

The hero of Mr. John Freeman's *God's Infidel* (Williams & Norgate, 7s. 6d.) is a man whose life was better than his creed: professing no belief in God he yet lived as in God's presence. We do not agree with the wrapper in calling the story "thrilling"; it is pleasing, and the characters, especially that of Henry Goodman, are well drawn.

The World's Library of Best Books, Vol. I. (Newnes, 12s. 6d.) contains extracts from forty-eight "books," the selection having been made, apparently, by John O'London. We do not understand the selection or arrangement—the first six "books" drawn upon are H. G. Well's *Outline of History*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Barrie's *What Every Woman Knows*, Lamb's *Roast Pig*, *In Memoriam* and *Pickwick Papers*. Nevertheless this glimpse at good things, and the excellent illustrations, might give someone a desire for literature.

The first thin paper edition of *The Two Jungle Books* (Macmillan, 10s. 6d.) has led us to renew our acquaintance with Mowgli, Rikki-Tikki, and Toomai, to our great delight. There is no doubt that children (of all ages up to 80) and of many generations will continue to rejoice in these stories.

Miss Muriel Needham's *All the Year Round in Story and Song* (Black, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d.) will be found very useful by all workers among tiny children. There is a story, a song, and a picture for each month of the year.

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New editions of books that have become recognised as standard works on their subjects are the second of Dean Rashdall's *The Theory of Good and Evil* (Clarendon Press, 18s.), the third of Prof. R. M. Maciver's *Community* (Macmillan, 15s.), with two new appendices; and the third of Mr. J. A. R. Marriott's *English Political Institutions* (Clarendon Press, 5s.) with a new chapter dealing with changes in the Constitution since 1910.

EDITOR.

Miss Jacka, in *The Road to Christendom* (S.C.M., 2s. 6d.) summarises the defects of modern civilisation in sober but telling language and shows that the only cure lies in a resolute application of Christian principles in politics and industry. What she means by "Christendom" is that complete Christianisation of life which was attempted with some measure of success during the Middle Ages. She is not, however, a Mediævalist. Nor has she any cut and dried political theory. "The Road to Christendom" must be discovered by bold Christian experiment. The book is intended primarily for teachers, and it will be found very useful in study circles engaged with the problems raised by C.O.P.E.C.

In *The Mystery of Belief* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.), Canon Whitham raises the question as to why, in view of the immense claims of Christianity and its persistence through the centuries, unbelief should exist at all. He examines the light thrown by the N.T. upon the problem of unbelief, pointing out that while belief is everywhere conceived as a gift of God, equal stress is laid throughout upon the responsibility of man for accepting or rejecting it. In estimating the hindrances to belief he gives a prominent place to the activity of a personal devil, without showing how that in any wise eases the problem. He accepts modern views of the O.T., and has some good things to say on the teaching office of the Church. But when will our Anglican zealots for re-union recognise the obvious fact that nothing is to be gained by references to "Nonconformist sects" and "Protestant bodies" whose separation from the "Church" is due to their intellectual pride and their failure to exhibit Christian love? Nonconformists for their

are likely to retort that the main obstacle to re-union is ecclesiastical pride, of which the attitude of Canon Whitham furnishes an example.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell is a well-known American writer whose book, *Is God limited?* has been issued by Messrs. Williams and Norgate in the Crown Theological Library (6s.). It is an exceedingly able and stimulating discussion of modern theories of the nature of God. The writer wields a facile pen and contrives to deal with abstruse problems in a way that the plain man finds easy to follow. He even succeeds in making Einstein intelligible.

The Bishop endeavours to hold the balance between the Absolutists, who make a clean cut between God and our human experience, and the naturalists, whose conception of a finite God makes Him altogether too human to be of any use to us. He claims that a doctrine which holds that God is really a sharer in our human experiences is not necessarily a doctrine of limitation, but that, on the contrary, it is those who declare that God cannot share our human experience who really limit Him by robbing Him of freedom and significance. God is not an imprisoned monarchist, but the Creator of a world which is wide enough and rich enough for the accomplishment of His purposes. The author has many pertinent things to say upon the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divine Personality and Forgiveness.

There are misprints on pp. 23 and 226, while on p. 72, the author attributes a well-known saying of Charles Lamb to Hazlitt.

The Rev. Leonard Hodgson has given us a very useful and timely discussion of the *Place of Reason in Christian Apologetic* (Blackwell, 5s.). The book consists of four lectures delivered before the General Theological Seminary, New York, together with a paper on "Experience, Religious Experience, and Christian Experience."

Mr. Hodgson criticises Otto's theory of religious experience as a non-rational feeling for the numinous. He points out that Otto fails to furnish any criterion by which we are to distinguish between mere stimulations of the faculty of divination, and veritable manifestations of the numinous. He refuses to admit that the numinous is non-rational simply because it is undefinable. Undefineables, after all, are the basis of rational thinking, and stand in rational connexion with the rest of reality. It is the function of reason to enquire whether such elements in consciousness are merely subjective illusion or true awareness of an objective reality. Feelings may be rational or irrational, and therefore Otto's numinous must be patient of rational criticism. We cannot substitute the study of religious experience for metaphysics as the investigation of the objective element in experience. What makes an experience religious is the way in which it is taken by the subject. Religious experience is not something *sui generis*, but simply experience as interpreted by those who believe in God. And that interpretation must be founded in reason. Hence Mr. Hodgson finds it difficult to speak of a specific Christian experience. Christian experience is simply the experience of those who interpret life on the basis of belief in Jesus as the revelation of God.

The book is a useful corrective of the recent tendency to return to Schleiermacher, but the writer seems to have carried the reaction too far. He gives insufficient consideration to the mystical side of religious experience.

E. J. PRICE.

Also received :

Highways of the Spirit (Vol. II., S.C.M., 2s. 6d.). Prayers drawn from the Bible, to be used with the Bible Readings in Vol. I.

CABOT : *The Sense of Immortality* (Milford, 4s. 6d.).

- W. L. WATKINSON : *Studies in Christian Character, Work and Experience*. First series. (Sharp, 2s. 6d.).
- RUFUS M. JONES : *The Inner Life* (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.).
- S. L. PEWTRESS : *Saul Who is called Paul* (Marlborough, 2s. 6d.).
- A. G. SHORTIMER : *Outlines on the Book of Psalms for Meditations and Sermons* (Longmans, 9s.).
- A. C. BAIRD : *The Acts of the Apostles* (T. & T. Clark, 1s.).
- W. E. VINE : *The Leading Themes of the Gospel of John* (Pickering, 2s.).
- A. T. SCHOFIELD : *The Radiant Morn* (Pickering, 2s.).
- H. WHEEN : *Thought Sprinklers* (Sharp, 3s.).
- JOHN RIGG : *How to take the Chair* (Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d.).
- R. NEWTON : *Nature's Mighty Wonders* (Pickering, 1s. 9d.).
- J. J. ELLIS : *David Livingstone* (Pickering, 1s.).
- C. MURRAY : *Muriel Malone* (Pickering, 2s.).
- M. E. DREWSON : *Ben and Kit* (Pickering, 1s. 3d.).
- Pamphlets.*
- BISHOP KNOX : *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, etc.* (Longmans, 3d.).
- STANLEY UNWIN : *The Price of Books* (Allen & Unwin, 6d.).

PERIODICALS.

The Holborn (January). Dr. Rendel Harris opens with a characteristic article on "Thérèse of the child Jesus and of the Holy Face (1873-97)"; the Rev. E. W. Smith compares "the Furies" of the Greek tragedians with current conceptions in Northern Rhodesia; the Rev. R. Ferguson has a critique of *Das Heilege* and Mr. Victor Murray a timely article on "The Rationale of Christian Experience." The Editor gives a valuable account of the development of the John Rylands Library, on the Council of which he has been from the beginning.

The Hibbert (January). A very interesting number. Among philosophers who write are Profs. James Ward and S. Alexander (both readable!) and the Editor, who desires "a philosophy of Labour." Dr. C. F. Thwing examines "Ruling Ideas in America," and Mr. J. A. Campbell brings a breath of air from the country. In order to emphasise our debt to India's ancient wisdom Mr. Edmond Holmes belabours the classics, but the Editor keeps the balance by admitting Prof. A. Y. Campbell's racy "The Basis of Greek Tragedy." Other writers are Evelyn Underhill, Sir Herbert Russell, Mrs. F. A. MacCunn, the Rev. J. R. Mozley, and Canon Streeter, who discusses "Dream Symbolism and the Mystic Vision."

The Pilgrim (January). The Bishop of Winchester writes on "The Social Function of the Church," and the Editor on "St. Joan, Shakespeare and Bernard Shaw." The Rev. H. F. B. Compston studies the exposure of children in "Two Foundlings"; Mr. A. E. Baker's subject is "Nature, Man and God," and Mr. G. C. Benyon's "The Christian Law." All that Mr. D. C. Somervell writes is worth reading, but sometimes in his "Religion and School-Religion" he is merely smart.

The London Quarterly (January). Two important articles dealing with education are Dr. Lyttelton's "Hints towards a Philosophy of Education" and Mrs. Ritchie's "American Ideals *versus* The University." The Rev. W. F. Howard writes on "The Person of Jesus in Recent Criticism," the Rev. Douglas James on "The Missionary Vocation To-day," the Rev. J. G. Radford on "Christ's Work of Healing," and the Editor on "Knights and Lawyers in the Temple." A very useful section of this journal is that devoted to Notes and Discussions.

The Baptist Quarterly (January) opens with an instructive article by Prof. Farrer on "The Present Position of the Church and Dissent." Dr. Wicks writes on "The Christ of Jewish Expectations—and the Christ who came"; and the Rev. A. J. Klaiber on Keach's *Gospel Minister's Maintenance Vindicated*.

The Modern Churchman (Dec.-Feb.). There are interesting articles on "Aquinas" (Rev. J. C. Hardwick) and "Bishop Gore as a Christian Apologist" (Rev. J. S. Bezzant). Dean Inge writes on "Santayana and Modernism," the Rev. W. M. Pryke on "Dr. Henson and Copec", and the Rev. H. Handley

"Mr. C. G. Montefiore on the Old Testament and the New." The Editor's notices of the Times "are as fresh and pertinent as usual.

The Church Quarterly Review (January). The Rev. H. F. B. Compston writes on "Captain Coram," Miss Uffellmann gives an account of the travels of the nineteenth century Countess of Pembroke, and Mr. G. L. Heawood has a pertinent article on "History as a Factor in Moral Education." Mr. Morton Luce discusses poetry and Prose," Dr. W. H. Rigg "The Fourth Gospel," and the Rev. W. H. Jackson "Sacrifice and the Eucharist" (without mentioning the Rev. S. E. Morley's suggestive *Sacrifice and Priesthood*). The notices are good, if some are a little late.

The Expository Times (December-February). Probably the most valuable journal in these numbers is the Rev. E. B. Redlich's "The Bible and the Child," in which all ministers and teachers could ponder with advantage. Dr. Rendel Harris's contributions are always worth reading, and other important papers by Dr. J. E. McFadyen's "Telescoped History" and Sir Flinders Petrie's "Recent Egyptian Discoveries." There is a sermon by Dr. J. A. Hutton, and an article "The Teaching of Jesus on Sin," by Prof. D. Russell Scott.

The Expositor (Dec.-Feb.). The "Ten Best Books" series deal with the Bible (Dr. H. R. Mackintosh), the Apostolic Age (Dr. G. W. Wade), and the Old Testament (Dr. Moffatt). Dr. J. P. Naish has a long article on "The Book of Job in the Early Persian Period," and Dr. W. Emery Barnes one on "Bible and Science." Dr. A. T. Cadoux prints an acute analysis of the Marcan accounts of the feeding of the multitude, while the Editor replies, vigorously, to some of the criticisms of his Old Testament translation.

The Review of the Churches (January). A double number containing the papers read at the Mürren conference last September by distinguished scholars and divines of many churches. Sir Henry Lunn's absence in America may be regrettable for numerous slips in editing.

The Friends' Quarterly Examiner (First Month) is below its usual standard—misses "From the House of the Four Winds." Mr. A. S. Le Mare writes on "St. Joan," and Mrs. Newman on "A Long Voyage." A German Quaker writes on Quaker Education in Germany; there are other historical and descriptive articles, and an account of George Fox's contribution to the struggle for civil and religious liberty which contains little that is new. The most readable article is an account of a Dorset village seventy years ago.

Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, Manchester (January).—The Editorial Notes contain an interesting reference to a visit of the present Pope to the Library shortly after its opening. The Staff is well represented in this number, Dr. Rendel Harris having two articles ("Scylla and Charybdis" and "The Sources of Barlaam and Joasaph"), Dr. Mingana two ("An Ancient Arabic Translation of the Kur'an" and "Remarks on Tabari's Semi-Official History of Islam") and Dr. Fawtier his usual lists of charters. Professor Morley has a thorough "Sketch of the History of Shakespeare's Influence on the Nineteenth Century," and among other contributors are Miss A. M. Cooke and the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

The International Review of Missions (January). Another number confirming the judgment that this periodical is indispensable to all students of Christian missions and of comparative religion. Three papers (by the Rev. Garfield H. Williams, Dr. Westermann and the Rev. W. T. Balmer) read at a Conference on Missions in Tropical Africa are followed by a most useful critique of Schweitzer's "The Life of Islam," and the Rev. W. Paton on "India and Opium." Other articles deal with Ceylon, the Toradjas of Central Celebes, and China.

The British Journal of Inebriety (January). This journal is for the scientific study of alcoholism and drug addiction. Dr. W. E. Dixon writes on Cocaine addiction, and seven doctors, including Sir William Wilcox and Mrs. Scharlieb, discuss his paper. Mr. Theodore Nield has an article on "Alcohol and Mortality" and there are valuable comments under "Memoranda," and reviews of books.

The Yale Review (January) casts a wide net and gets a varied haul. Literary notices are Mrs. Wharton's "Marcel Proust," Mr. Moulton's "Joseph Conrad"

and Prof. Feuillerat's "Scholarship and Literary Criticism." Abbé Dimm writes on "France under Herriot," Messrs. Foster and Catchings on "Pride and Profiteers," and Judge Grant on "Marriage and Divorce," pleading for unification of the Divorce Law in the forty-eight United States. Prof. Warner's "The Onward March of Aircraft" and Mrs. Hardy's "Marquesan Sketches" are good reading.

The *Harvard Theological Review* (October) opens with one of the longer scholarly articles we have come to expect from it—Dr. G. F. Moore's "The Rise of Normative Judaism: I. To the Reorganization at Jamnia." The other contributors are Dr. F. R. Tennant ("Theism and the Laws of Nature") and Mr. G. B. King ("The Mote and the Beam.")

The *Review and Expositor* (Baptist, Louisville, Kentucky, January). This number commemorates the twenty-five years' work of Dr. E. Y. Mullins, President of the Southern Baptist Seminary, six divines writing on different aspects of the President's life and work.

The *Princeton Theological Review* (January). We turned first to the editor's long examination of Sir George Adam Smith's *Jeremiah*, and found it as critical and reactionary as is the review of Dr. Selbie's *Psychology of Religion* in the review section. The other articles criticise modern views of the Bible, of philosophy and of science.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HAS THE LIBERAL PARTY A FUTURE?

[TO THE EDITOR, "THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY."]

SIR,—It is very gratifying that you have not the reluctance to discuss party politics which prominent representatives of some religious denominations affect in these days. Your three articles on the above subject are most interesting and a very welcome sign. But why do they all three almost assume that already the Liberal Party has ceased to be as an effective force in the country? Mr. Wedgwood Benn speaks of the effect of the war as "almost to destroy the Liberal Party"; Mr. Graham chuckles at the supposed replacement of Liberalism which has "ceased to be a distinctive political counter-attraction;" and you, Sir, say that your previous opinions upon a doubtful "future existence of the Liberal Party" are justified.

Two of the articles are too lugubrious, and Mr. Graham, who rejoices, is premature. I wonder why none of the three writers took account of the fact that at the last election, in spite of the almost impossible battle-ground for Liberalism, carefully selected by its opponents, who for the time being were paramount, the Party polled nearly 3,000,000 votes, in addition to giving probably a million votes to defeat what was believed by millions of people to be the danger of Bolshevik-Socialism. Labour came a long way short of doubling the Liberal votes, and the Government's huge majority rests on 7,800,000 votes only. I maintain that you cannot properly give an answer to your own question if you ignore this important factor.

The Liberal Party's future depends as much on a reform of our unjust electoral laws as upon any of the considerations advanced in your article. At present no party has the courage to deal with the question from this point of view of justice, and we Liberals are being punished for our own misdeeds, seeing that some representatives of London Liberalism prevent Proportional Representation being an agreed measure directly after the war. You cannot continue to disregard 3,000,000 regular voters, however.

Yours faithfully,

ALFRED HOWE

(Secretary of the Liberation Society).